AN

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT

AS IT WAS IN

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

WHEN THEY

FIRST RECEIVED THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

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PREFACE OF THE EDITOR.

PURSUING, in great measure, the same course as to prefatory matters, which I have traced out with regard to bishop Stillingfleet's Origines Britannicæ, or The Antiquities of the British Churches; it will be necessary in the first place to observe, that bishop Lloyd states "[a] the occasion of the following book" arose from "the arguments against episcopal government...drawn from the example of the ancient Scottish Church," by those who favoured presbyterian notions.

Bishop Nicolson, in his [b] English Historical Library, remarks; "The undertaking," which Lloyd thus engaged in, became a bishop of our English Church, and the performance answered the great opinion that men of learning have always had of this worthy prelate. His aim in it, was the encountering an objection against the order of episcopacy, from the story of the Scotch Culdees; an argument put into the mouths of our

[a] Lloyd's Preface to his Historical Account of Church Government, &c. p. i.

[b] Part 2. ch. 1. p. 76.

schismatics by [c] Blondel and [d] Selden, out of the abundant kindness they had for our establishment. In answering of the several cavils of these learned men, the bishop thought himself obliged to give [e] a short history of the first planting of the Scots in Great Britain; which thwarted the common road of their historians since the days of Hector Boethius, and bereaved them of about forty of their first monarchs. This shortening of the royal line his majesty's advocate of Scotland, the late ingenious and learned sir George Mackenzie, presently resented, as an affront little short of what the lawyers of that country call 'lese-majesty,' and therefore published "[f] A Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland." To this "Defence" Lloyd did not reply, but his friend Stillingfleet undertook so to do, [g] as we have already seen; and in consequence Mackenzie published "The Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland farther cleared and defended, against the Exceptions lately offered by Dr. Stillingfleet, in his Vindication of the Bishop of St. Asaph." Of the former of these two books, "The Defence of the Antiquity," &c., Nicolson in his [h] Scottish Historical Library observes, that therein, "[i] It is probably enough maintained, that the true succession of the kings of Scotland might be

[c] Lloyd ibid. p. v. and notes [k], [l].

[d] Ibid. chap. 6. §. 6. p. 121. note [z]. ch. 7. §. 3. p. 139. note [z]. p. 140. note [zz].

[e] Ibid. ch. 1. §. 8. p. 28, and note [z], &c.

[f] Octavo, London, 1685.

[g] Editor's Preface to Stillingfleet's Origines Britannicæ, or Antiquities of the British Churches, p. ix. and note [i].

[h] Part 2. ch. 3. p. 37.

[i] Mackenzie's Defence of the Antiquity, pp. 17–22. compared with Stillingfleet ibid. p. x. and note [b], &c. Macpherson, in his Preface to Wyntownis Cronykil, p. xxiiii. speaks of the kings preceding the second Fergus, as "fictitious kings."

entirely preserved even without the helps of written histories; because their genealogies were usually repeated both at their coronation and interment; the latter of these customs being likewise observed amongst the Highland families to this day. [k] What he says of their ancient historians, is considered, under proper titles, elsewhere; and I shall here allow it him, that their testimony is never to be overturned by the evidence of others less credible; such as he justly reckons those monks to be, [l] who lived in the times of war betwixt the two kingdoms. That the Scots were seated here much more early than the [m] bishop would allow them, [n] he endeavours to prove from Gildas and Bede, as well as from [o] Tacitus and other Roman writers. That the words '[p] Soli Britanni' in Eumenius's Panegyric, are misconstrued (in the nominative case) by the bishop's namesake H. Lhuyd, as well as himself, he shews from the concurrent authorities of [q] Scaliger, Camden, and Buchanan, three great judges of criticism in the Latin tongue. He seems not to be so fortunate in his exposition of [r] Hegesippus's phrase of 'quæ terris

[k] Mackenzie ibid. p. 25. compared with Stillingfleet ibid. p. xl. and note [i], &c. Lloyd's Preface ibid. p. xxvi. &c. and notes. Nicolson ibid. ch. 2. p. 20, &c.

[l] Mackenzie ibid. p. 48. from whence we learn that these writers were Florence of Worcester, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Roger Hoveden, Thomas Walsingham, and Matthew of Westminster, who are severally quoted by Lloyd ibid. Preface, p. xxi. and note [g]; ch. 1. §. 10. p. 39. and notes [z], [a]; p. 40, and notes [f], [g]; §. 12. p. 44, and notes [a], [b]; p. 45, and note [e]; p. 46, and note [i]; ch. 4. §. 2. p. 85, and note [n].

[m] Lloyd ibid. ch. 1. §. 8. p. 31, and note [m].

[n] Mackenzie ibid. pp. 50. 61. 118, &c.

[o] Ibid. p. 78, &c.

[p] Ibid. p. 69. Lloyd ibid. ch. 1. §. 5. p. 11, &c. and notes.

[q] Mackenzie ibid. p. 71. as to Camden; p. 72, as to all three writers. Lloyd ibid. and Usher and Stillingfleet, with others there referred to.

[r] Mackenzie ibid. p. 90. Lloyd ibid. §. 4. p. 8. and note [c].

nihil debet:' but his reasons, after he has done with his authorities, are more strong and convincing. Some things there are in his book which seem to carry a yet fairer light. An impartial bystander would hardly (for example) think it credible, [s] that the Scots, as our English historians would have it, should yearly transport great armies in small curroghs from Ireland, and look upon their return in the end of summer as less hazardous than staying with their allies; or, that the Picts should first call in the Irish to settle amongst them, just when they had seen how the Saxons had served the Britons on the like occasion, &c. [t] The Scots being to this day called Albanach, as the English are called Sassanach, in the Irish language, he thinks a probable argument of their being very anciently seated in Albion; which had changed that name into Britannia before the days of Julius Cæsar: [u] and his interpretation of Bede's story of king Egfrid, of Northumberland's misfortunes in [x] Ireland, seems very just and agreeable to the context. He concludes with an assertion, backed with good evidence, [y] That the royal line of Scotland has an undoubted right to the whole empire of Britain; all the several titles of the Welsh, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, (as well as both the

[s] Mackenzie ib. p. 104. Lloyd ibid. §. 6. p. 21. and note [n], &c. Stillingfleet ibid. Preface p. lxi. and notes, &c. Macpherson, in his MS. notes on Mackenzie ibid. on the title page, and p. 156. insists that the Scots, though not under that denomination, are "the descendants of the very earliest inhabitants of Britain," and are "the Gael emphatically" so called.

[t] Mackenzie ibid. p. 155.

[u] Ibid. p. 164.

[x] Nicolson ibid. adds by way of note, "In Hiberniam, Eccles. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 26. Though it must be confessed the Saxon translation [on Hibernia Scota Ealonde] is not a very pregnant confirmation of the advocate's opinion."

[y] Mackenzie ibid. p. 199.

houses of York and Lancaster) concentring therein. The credit of this treatise was supported by its author, against the objections of the learned [z] Dr. Stillingfleet, in another which he called "[a] The Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland farther cleared, &c.;" and on this, as it regards Stillingfleet rather than [b] Lloyd, Nicolson's observations will be found elsewhere. "[c] Both these books were afterwards put into one, and translated into Latin; which being reviewed by Grævius, was printed in Holland, under the title of '[d] Defensio antiquæ Regum Scotorum Prosapiæ.' The advocate" (sir George Mackenzie) "was seconded in his quarrel by Mr. James Cunningham, a writer to the Signet, and author of the Commentary on Macdaff's Cross, who slew the bishop of St. Asaph in verse; having published a poem which he calls, '[e] In Floidum Asaphensem episcopum, Scotorum Reges, Regnum, Ritus sacros, illacessitis Calumniis et immeritis, exprobrantem, lacerantem, et traducentem, Versiculus unus et alter Hortatorius.' To this he subjoins Notes and an Appendix; 'in qua' (you have his own word for it) 'ex concessis confutatur Floidus:' after which comes, an Additamentum, in correction of Dr. Stillingfleet's Preface. There was also a learned and modest [f] Letter of Remarks on the bishop's book, directed to himself, and bearing date

[z] In Præfat. ad Orig. Brit.

[a] Octavo, London, 1686.

[b] In the following places, however, of his Antiquity &c. farther cleared, Mackenzie has referred to Lloyd ibid. in confirmation of points advanced in his Defence ibid. c. 1. pp. 2. 5. 9. c. 2. pp. 13. 18. 36. 42. 61. 64. 73. 76. c. 3. pp. 86. 105. c. 4. pp. 128. 138. c. 5. pp. 149. 167. 182. 187. 190. 196. Appendix, pp. 202. 206. 208.

[c] Nicolson ibid.

[d] Octavo, Amstel. 1687.

[e] Impress. 1685.

[f] MS. 4to. p. D. R. S.

December the eighth, 1684, which was written by Mr. Thomas Price of Llanvyllen."

In addition to these writers, I may observe from Nicolson, that Lloyd's work having "[g] alarmed all the antiquaries of this kingdom" (of Scotland)—" amongst the rest, a very large Answer was provided by sir Robert Sibbald, who kindly obliged me with the perusal of it in [h] thirty-four chapters;" of which however he gives no particulars, although, through the kind offices of David Irving, Esq. LL.D., the keeper of the Advocate's Library at Edinburgh, where Sibbald's manuscripts are deposited, I am enabled so to do, in a succeeding page.

Of these several replies, it will be sufficient to notice in this place those of Cunningham, Price, and Sibbald, as enough has already been said as to those by Mackenzie. Cunningham's very scarce production commences with some [i] few pages of verse, to which the notes appended rather engage our attention, although in argument they present little difference from what we have already seen urged by Mackenzie. Cunningham commences by insisting on [k] the authority of the Druids, and of tradition; [l] Carrickfergus in Ireland, and Dunstufnage castle in Scotland, and the image of Euenus, as there preserved, in proof of the history of Fergus I.

[g] Nicolson ibid. p. 37.

[h] Nicolson ibid. adds " MS. fol. p. Auct." There are two copies of this work in the Advocates' Library; " both copies are in folio, and are written with his own hand. In the titles there are somè small variations," as Dr. Irving informs me; that I have referred to is " the enlarged copy."

[i] Cunigham. Versiculus unus et alter, p. 3.

[k] Ibid. p. 5.

[l] Ibid. p. 7.

and this latter king Euenus, [m] whose law also as to marriage he insists upon. [n] He next refers to the lines of Claudian, in agreement with Mackenzie; and afterwards [o] speaks of the introduction of Christianity amongst the Scots, and of the manuscripts at Nuremberg, probably relating to that event, beside some few other matters. These are followed by [p] additional verses addressed to sir Robert Sibbald, [q] accompanied by notes, reflecting on the fabulous details relating to St. Patrick and St. Columba; the additions made to Adamnanus; Lloyd's objections to the arguments derived from the Culdees, and on [r] the probable causes of Lloyd's and Usher's opposition to the then generally received notions concerning the Scottish antiquities. [s] In his Appendix, Cunningham at some length controverts Lloyd's argument, as it regards the passage in

[m] Ibid. p. 11. Mackenzie's Defence ibid. p. 114. Blackstone's Commentaries, book 2. ch. 5. p. 83. and note [a], compared with Mr. Astle's paper in the Archaiologia, vol. 12. p. 34. Sir David Dalrymple's Annals of Scotland, vol. 3. Appendix, p. 1. and Logan's Scottish Gael, vol. 1. ch. 5. p. 215. note [r], from which the error of Cunningham, Mackenzie, and other writers, including Blackstone himself, as to the "mercheta mulierum," will be evident. As to Euenus' image, see Camden's Britannia, vol. 3. p. 388. in the Additions; Gough's edition.

[n] Cunigham. ibid. p. 13.

[o] Ibid. p. 18.

[p] Ibid. p. 21. from whence it appears that Sibbald intended to have published his work in Latin.

[q] Cunigham. ibid. p. 23. Ryves in his Regim. Anglican. in Hibernia Defensio, lib. 2. p. 43. Maurice in his Defence of Diocesan Episcopacy, p. 155. and Ledwich in his Antiquities of Ireland, p. 57, deny the existence of St. Patrick. The latter also objects against Adamnanus's Life of Columba, p. 89. with whom, in some measure, Dr. J. Monck Mason, in his Primitive Christianity in Ireland, pp. 29. 130, &c. agrees.

[r] Cunigham. ibid. pp. 25. 20. compared with Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 5. p. 286. note [d]. Mackenzie's Defence ibid. pp. 2. 10.

[s] Cunigham. ibid. p. 26. compared with Lloyd ibid. c. 1. §. 5. p. 12. note [z].

Eumenius. [t] The Additamentum in reply to Stillingfleet closes the whole.

Of Price's Letter to Lloyd nothing now appears to be known, [u] as it is neither to be found amongst the papers of Sibbald, at the Advocates' Library, [x] nor amongst those still preserved by the representatives of bishop Lloyd.

Of sir Robert Sibbald's large Reply to bishop Lloyd, I am, [y] for the reasons just assigned, enabled to give a satisfactory account. It is contained in a folio volume of one hundred and sixty-seven closely written pages, exclusive of "the letter written to a person of quality," which is prefixed. The title is, "A Defence or Vindication of the Scotish History and of the Scotish Historians, wherin the antient Race of the Scotish Kings, ther ancient Possession in this Island of Great Britain, and The Antiquity and Dignity of the Scotish Church are asserted: and the Objectiones of the Bishop of St. Asaph are answered By Sir Robert Sibbald, his Majesties Physitian and Geographer, and President of the Royal Colledge of Physitianes at Edinburgh." After "the letter" above mentioned, Sibbald gives "an account of the order I follow in answering the bishop's book. 1. I will in the first place endeavour to prove that other Churches were to be quarrelled upon this head, that they were governed at first by presbyters

[t] Cunigham. ibid. p. 33. compared with Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. lix. and note [z].

[u] From information derived from David Irving, esq.

[x] As I am informed by the Rev. T. Murray Browne, of Standish, Gloucestershire. See, however, Lloyd ibid. Preface, p. xvi. note [m]. p. xvii. notes [p] and [q].

[y] See p. xii. of this Preface, following note [b].

and not by bishops, and that there was no ground in our ancient historians for imputing this to them, and therefore his lordship if he had thought upon this he might have forborn the writing against us. 2. I will endeavour to vindicate our authors, and I will shew that what they writ was confirmed by the English and by other foreign writers. 3. I will make out the antiquity of the nation, and will instruct the account of its rise from foreign authors as well as our own. 4. I will make out the ancient race of our kings from foreign history, and by other unquestionable proofs. 5. I will give an account of the first planting of the Christian religion amongst us, and that from the beginning we had bishops, and that we were more as four hundred years Christians before we acknowledged any dependence upon the pope of Rome, and that during that time we had a different way of tonsure, and observed Pasch otherwise than the Church of Rome did. 6. There is a large account given of the Culdees, their antiquity amongst us made out, and their way of living is shewn. 7. [z] I will shew that we had a metropolitan, and were never subject to the archbishop of York. 8. I will prove that the abbot of Icolmkill was for a long time

[z] Mackenzie, in his Letter to the lord Chancellor, p. 3. and in the Defence itself, pp. 167. 170. 177, has, especially in the Letter, much relating to the first point; but on this seventh and the following one not so. See Lloyd ibid ch. 1. §. 12. p. 46. and notes [h], and [i]. Sibbald's History of Fife and Kinross, as quoted in p.xvi. note [b] of this Preface. Selden Præfat. in Twysden. Decem Scriptor. pp. vi. viii. compared with Lloyd ibid. ch. 1. §. 12. p. 46. note [i]; ch. 6. §. 6. p. 121. note [z]; ch. 7. p. 133. note [c]; §. 3. p. 141. note [h]. To Lloyd ibid. ch. 1. §. 12. p. 46. Sibbald particularly refers in ch. 34. p. 166. of his Reply ibid. in support of his seventh point; while in p. 163. ibid. he refers to Lloyd, as before, ch. 5. §. 1. p. 100. in support of his eighth point.

primate of Scotland, and that the right of primate was translated from the Culdees there to the see of St. Andrew's." These eight principal points are again divided into thirty-four chapters, the mere enumeration of whose titles would fill several of our pages. But as it has been stated upon the authority of sir James Dalrymple's Historical Collections, that Mackenzie's Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland " [a] was produced by the joint labours of sir George Mackenzie, sir Robert Sibbald, and sir James Dalrymple" himself, it will be sufficient for our purpose to notice, without instituting a comparison of Sibbald's work with that of Mackenzie, that the latter is, indeed, in many particulars, a mere summary of the former. With this information, passing over other points, it will be desirable to mention that from his printed works, Sibbald's opinions, [b] as to the Culdees, [c] the Picts, [d] and the controverted position of Thule, may be sufficiently ascertained, and which will entitle him to be considered as " [e] a man of industrious research," if " not distinguished by his acuteness or taste."

Among those who have at a later period raised objections to portions of the work of Lloyd, are Goodall,

[a] Macpherson's (editor of Wyntownis Cronykil of Scotland) MS. note prefixed to the title-page of his copy of Mackenzie's Defence ibid. now in the possession of David Laing, Esq. keeper of the Signet Library, Edinburgh, to which gentleman I am much indebted for its loan.

[b] Sibbald's History of Fife and Kinross, ch. 5. p. 163. with the notes in the edition, Cupar Fife, 1803.

[c] Ibid. edit. 1710. as quoted in Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 5. pp. 245. note [c], 248. and note [o].

[d] Ibid. as quoted in Stillingfleet ibid. p. 246. note [m]. Gibson's edition of Camden's Britannia, vol. 2. p. 413. London 1722.

[e] Irving's Letter to Tho. P. Pantin, 3rd March, 1840.

Pinkerton, and Jamieson. [f] Goodall, in his Introduction to Fordun, with great pertinacity maintains opinions relating to the ancient history of the Scots in agreement with Mackenzie; Pinkerton, in his Enquiry into the history of Scotland, though much opposed to Goodall upon general grounds, yet insists that [g] Lloyd has assigned the time of the Scots' settlement in Britain several centuries after it actually took place; while Jamieson, in his Historical Account of the ancient Culdees, has employed every argument to overthrow those of the bishop in defence of episcopacy. But though such was the case, yet we find that these and other opponents to Lloyd were in some points equally opposed to each other: for Mackenzie, Sibbald, and Goodall, while they opposed, and were indeed incensed with Lloyd, on the ancient history of the Scots, yet they professed, and indeed truly, [h] the greatest respect for episcopacy. On the contrary, as must be supposed, [i] Jamieson was opposed to episcopacy; but he agreed with the views taken by Lloyd, Stillingfleet, and Pinkerton, upon historical matters.

It may be desirable, however, to state, in connexion

[f] Introduct. ad Hist. Scot. prefix. ad Fordun Scotichron.

[g] Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. 2. ch. 2. p. 60, where it is said; "Some English and Irish antiquaries, as Usher, bishop Lloyd, Stillingfleet, O'Flaherty, &c. have in their great zeal against the antiquity of the Scots in North Britain passed this—the first colony of the old Scots, under Riada, about the year 258, being the Dalreudini or Attacotti—in oblivion, and represented the second colony in the year 503 as the first settlement."

[h] Mackenzie's Letter ibid. prefixed to his Defence ibid. p. 5. compared with Lloyd ibid. ch. 7. §. 9. p. 171. note [s]. Sibbald in the "Letter to a person of quality" prefixed to his Reply ibid. observes; "Your lordship likewise knows what veneration I have for the sacred order of Churchmen, and particularly for the reverend bishops, the fathers of the Church." Goodall, Introduct. ibid. c. 16. p. 63. and his Preface to Keith's Catalogue of the bishops of Scotland.

[i] See his Historical Account of the ancient Culdees, Index, under Bishops, Iona, Scoti, &c.

with the preceding matters, indebted as [k] I am to a learned friend for the information, that Pinkerton's Enquiry into the history of Scotland before A.D. 1056, is "the ablest work on the subject;" while in Chalmers's Caledonia, it "has been arrogantly enough discussed;" that in the Quarterly Review, No. LXXXI. for July, 1829, there is a "pleasant, though somewhat superficial article" by sir Walter Scott, which "produced an elaborate answer from Dr. Jamieson in the Westminster Review," No. XXXI. for January, 1832. To these may be added Irving's "[l] Origin and Progress of the English Language, in which the Origin of the Scottish Nation and Language is briefly examined." In reading particularly the articles by Scott and Jamieson, I may be permitted to add, that the objection raised by Dalrymple, lord Hailes, is fast subsiding; that though "[m] we (the Scots) are reformed from popery," yet we are "not from Hector Boethius."

But however, as the chief intention of Lloyd's work is to shew that episcopacy was the original form of Church government in these islands, notwithstanding the instance adduced from the Culdees to the contrary, it may not be inappropriate to notice in conclusion, that [n] Mackenzie, speaking as to the passage of Bede cited by Lloyd ibid. c. 7. §. 10. p. 173, &c. observes, that "many examples can be given of jurisdiction of presbyters, and even of deacons over bishops in the canon law and history. So that this instance from our historians makes nothing against episcopacy. And

[k] Irving's letters to Tho. P. Pantin, 25th July, 1840; 4th Dec. 1841.

[l] Macculloch's Statistical Account of the British Empire, vol. 2. p. 672.

[m] As quoted by Pinkerton ib. Preface, p. xxiii.

[n] Mackenzie's Letter to the Lord Chancellor ibid. p. 7.

latter historians meeting with these ambiguous words in our annals, 'designatus, electus, ordinatus,' were by a mistake induced to appropriate these words to the formal ceremony of ordination and imposition of hands." And with reference to this same matter, in his Antiquities of Ireland, Ledwich adds; "[o] From Bede's saying the bishops were subject to the abbots of Hy, and some absurd amplifications of Fordun, Major, and Hector Boethius, affirming that the Scottish Church was originally ruled by monks, who were only presbyters, [p] Selden, Blondel, Smectymnus, and the London ministers' Jus Divinum, took occasion to ground arguments in favour of the antiquity of presbyterianism, and its precedence of episcopal government. Rather the eminence of the writers than the validity of their proofs, made an impression on the public. In the warmth of controversy, the things that would have ended the dispute are passed over. One instance will suffice: Oswald (Bedæ ibid. l. 3. c. 3.) sends to the Culdees, 'ad majores natu Scotorum, petens ut sibi mitteretur antistes.' Upon this, 'accepit Aidanum pontificem, veniente ad se episcopo.' In these notices in Bede, the very foundation of Selden and his brethren's arguments is effectually sapped. Bishop Lloyd (on Church Government, c. 7.) has completely prostrated the adversaries of his order, and demonstrated episcopacy to be coeval with Christianity in these isles."

THO. P. PANTIN.

Westcote Rectory,
near Stow on the Wold,
25th January, 1842.

[o] Ledwich's Antiquities, sect. 9. p. 105.

[p] Lloyd ibid. Preface, p. iii. and note [k]. c. 7. p. 134, &c. and notes. §. 3. p. 141. and note [h], &c. compared with c. 5. p. 104, &c.

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TO THE REV.

TO THE REVEREND

DR. STILLINGFLEET,

DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S,

AND THE PIOUS AND LEARNED

MR. HENRY DODWELL.

My most worthy Friends,

HAVING shewn you a draught of this book some years since, I was then encouraged by you to make it public; and thereupon I suffered it to go into the press.

It is not worth telling the world why it came out no sooner. God be praised it is not yet too late to do the good that I designed by it. And the Church has not needed the service of this inconsiderable piece, while it has been defended by so many others, and especially by your most learned and judicious labours.

I could not pass by this occasion without making some kind of acknowledgment, to you in particular, of the debt that is owing from the whole Church to all them that have stood up in the breach against her enemies. If men should forget, God will surely remember it. To his grace I commend you, and remain,

Yours in all true affection and service,

W. ASAPH.

PREFACE.

AMONG all the arguments that have been used of late times against episcopal government, there is none that hath made more noise in the world, or that hath given more colour to the cause of our adversaries, than that which they have drawn from the example of the ancient Scottish Church. And indeed it would be of very great force, if they could prove what they say, that in the [a] second century, or beginning of the third, there was a Church formed without bishops, and that it continued so for some hundreds of years. There may be some further improvement of this, by suggesting that at last, when the government changed, it was by the means of one [b] Palladius, who was the first that brought episcopacy into that ii nation. [c] For this Palladius having had his ordination at Rome, the very mention of this may make it seem as if he brought in popery with it. And perhaps our adversaries would be willing to have it believed that he did so: though none of them have thought fit to say this in plain terms, for fear of giving advantage to the papists; who would be very glad to have it granted that popery was so ancient as to come within four

[a] See chap. 7. §. 4. p. 147.
[b] Chap. 2. §. 4, 5. pp. 51–62. chap. 4. §. 2, 3. pp. 84–90. Stillingfleet's Antiquities of the British Churches, Pref. p. lxv.
[c] Chap. 2. §. 4. p. 51.

hundred years after Christ's ascension into heaven. But that the Church of Scotland was so early and so long without bishops, is a thing that seems to have passed without dispute; being acknowledged, as it were with one consent, by all the now extant Scottish historians.

How far their authority hath gone in that nation, we may judge by what we see in archbishop [d] Spotswood's Church History. We cannot have the least doubt of the judgment of that most worthy and reverend prelate, since he hath so fully declared it in
iii the solemnest act of his life: it is in his [e] last will and testament that he gives this account of himself to posterity; "As touching the government of the Church, I am verily persuaded that the government episcopal is the only right and apostolical form." And yet, in the book above mentioned, he doth unawares (as far as I can judge) yield that which affords to our adversaries a great presumption against episcopal government. I say he does this unawares; for it is plain that he designed to write a [f] history only of such things as had passed since the reformation. He did not trouble his head to search into the original of the Scottish Church; but as to that, he contented himself to deliver those things which were "[g] the opinion most commonly received." And yet, in following the received opinion, he must needs bar himself from any way to answer the before mentioned argument against episcopacy. For the same authority that there is for the

[d] Spotswood's History of the Church and State of Scotland. Nicolson's Scottish Historical Library, part 2. c. 4. p. 56. gives an account of this work, together with Gordon's, of Stralogh, high character of the same. Vide Prolegom. p. xliii. in Leland. de Rebus Britan. Collect. vol. 1.

[e] As in the Author's Life, before his History.

[f] See his Epistle Dedicatory.

[g] Spotswood ibid, p. 2.

being of a Church there in [h]Scotland from king Donald's time, (that is, from the year 203, as he places it,) the same authority there is for a Church that was governed iv so many ages together by monks and presbyters without bishops. This he found when he came to that part of his history, [i]where his authors lay it before him in the terms that I have written. And therefore he makes them such an answer as I do not think it worth the while to repeat. Howsoever he might satisfy himself with it, I do not doubt but his presbyterian countrymen looked upon it as a very insufficient answer, and amounting to little less than a confession, that their Church was first planted, and so long continued, without bishops. In consequence whereof, they might reasonably conclude, that when they covenanted against episcopacy they had only used their own right; and thrown out that which was a confessed innovation, in order to the restoring of that which was their primitive government.

I would to God we had not so much cause to remember how that example was followed in this kingdom. They that were for destroying episcopacy v here, as they had the Scottish reformation for their pattern, so they alleged the Scottish tradition for the justifying of it. In that laborious collection of Blondell's, (which was made for the service of our presbyterians,) he, with all his vast reading, could not find one undoubted example of a Church of their way in ancient times, but only [k]that of the Scots. But to

[h] As to the first conversion thereof, see chap. 2. §. 2. p. 50. §. 6. p. 63. chap. 5. §. 1. p. 98, &c.

[i] Spotswood ibid. p. 7.

[k] Blondell. Apol. pro Hieron. pp. 314. 367. &c. 375. It appears, however, upon the authority of archbishop Usher, and of John Blondell, the brother of David Blondell, the writer of the work here referred to, that he closed his work with this observation: "By all that we have

make the most of that, he vouches it as a thing out of controversy; and [1] tells his readers how early it began; before pope Victor's death, which was (as he tells us) in the year 197, July 28. And yet, as to the use that he makes of this note, namely, to shew the antiquity of a Church government by presbyters, he very well knew that he had no author for it, that lived within a thousand years of that time. He was so wise as not to set down the year and day when any of them died whom he quotes for this matter; though he constantly does it as oft as he can hope that that punctual notation of time will make his author appear to be of
vi so much the more credit. Nay, he doeth it oftentimes with no other design, that appears, but for mere ostentation of his skill in chronology; which, rather than hurt his cause with it, he thought better to spare on this occasion.

But to shew how little reason our adversaries have to boast of this instance of a Church without episcopal government, it will be necessary for me to shew how little credit there is to be given to those writers upon whose authority it is that they assert this. They seem indeed to make a great muster of witnesses, when they say they have all the Scottish historians to prove it; and some of them speak as if the faith of the nation must needs be engaged for the credit of those historians.

said to assert the rights of the presbytery, we do not intend to invalidate the ancient and apostolical constitution of episcopal preeminence. But we believe that wheresoever it is established conformably to the ancient canons, it must be carefully preserved; and wheresoever by some heat of contention or otherwise it hath been put down or violated, it ought to be reverently restored." Durel Of the Government and Public Worship of God, in the Reformed Churches, &c. p. 339.

[1] Blondell. ibid. p. 314.

But for the number of witnesses, I think that is not much to be considered, when they come (as these do) all in file, one after another; so that all their strength is resolved into the credit of [m]one author; and what he was [n]I shall consider in due time.

For the nation's concernment on the account of vii their historians, I know no such necessity of that, as our adversaries seem to suppose. The historian obliges the nation whose history he writes, as the painter does the person whose picture he draws; just as far as he does his work true, and no further. If he gives them those ornaments which are not their own, he wrongs them; and gives others occasion to think there was need of it to cover some deformity or other. The Scottish nation have needed no such helps at any time since the histories we speak of were written. They have excelled most other nations in arts and arms, and especially in the purity of religion; abating only for that blemish which hath been contracted chiefly by their giving too easy a belief to those fictions which I am now about to disprove.

But besides, it ought to be considered in this case, and I desire that it may be remembered all along in my Preface, that what I write is only concerning their antiquities. I do not question the truth of any thing viii that is said to have been done within these [o] eight hundred years; nay, within fourteen hundred by their telling, who make their planting here before Christ's incarnation, and their conversion about two hundred years after it. Now it were very strange if any nation in our part of Europe should think themselves obliged to stand by their historians in what they write, of

[m] Fordon; see p. xxvi.

[n] Chap. 7. §. 1. p. 133. §. 3. p. 147. and last note.

[o] Mackenzie, in his Defence of the Royal Line of Scotland, p. 147, refers to this passage.

things before, or so soon after, Christ's incarnation. In those early times (as all learned men know) [p] they had no letters, but what they borrowed from the Greeks or the Romans. And especially in Scotland, if there were any Christians so early, as some would conclude from those words of [q] Tertullian, where he saith, that "those British nations that could not be subdued by the Romans, yet willingly yielded their necks to the yoke of Christ;" (I say, if those words do import that there were Christians in Scotland at that time,) yet they must be allowed to be of the number of those, who, as Irenæus saith of many of the barbarous na-
ix tions, "[r] held the faith by tradition, without the help of paper and ink;" meaning, as he explains himself, that for want of letters they could have no use of the Scriptures.

We have much reason to doubt whether those unlettered nations had any desire to convey any knowledge of themselves to posterity. But if they had the will, they wanted the means to do it; and therefore we cannot wonder that we know so little of them or their condition, either in or before the Roman times. But what shall we say of those nations that were subjects of the Roman empire, and therefore wanted not means to convey what they would to posterity? Had they any care to preserve their antiquities, and to deliver over to their children in writing what they had received by tradition from their forefathers? We find little sign of it in most of these nations: so little especially in our island, that we are to thank strangers for any thing that we know of our people and religion, or of our island in the ancientest times.

[p] Stillingfleet ibid. p. xl.

[q] Tertulliani advers. Judæos, cap. 7 inter Oper. p. 189. See chap. 2. p. 48.

[r] Iren. de Hæres. iii. 4. p. 178.

To begin where I have reason to believe least ex- x
ception will be taken; What have they to say in
[s] France or in [t] Spain of the ancient inhabitants of those countries, before they came to be under the Romans? or what account can they give of themselves, how they came first to be Christians? They have nothing of those times, but what ignorant men have devised, and what the learned are now ashamed to say after them.

In that nation for which I am chiefly concerned, I know no learned man but will freely acknowledge this, and will think it no blemish to the honour of our country.

We had indeed one writer that lived, though not under the Roman empire, yet very soon after it, namely, [u] Gildas; from whom, if from any in that age, there might have been expected an history of his country. But [x] he freely acknowledges that we had no writer to furnish him with materials for a just history; and that, for the writing of that little summary that he gives us, he was fain to borrow what he xi
had from them beyond the seas.

Within three hundred years after him, we had another, called [y] Nennius, that (as himself tells us) was

[s] Stillingfleet ibid. p. xxxv.

[t] Ibid.

[u] For Gildas, see Nicolson's English Historical Library, part 1. ch. 3. pp. 23. 26. Cave Historia Literaria, et Tanneri Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, under Gildas. He flourished, according to Cave, ibid. A. D. 581

[x] De Excidio Britanniæ, c. 1. inter Orthodoxographa, p. 1004. Hist. Gildæ, §. 2. p. 2. §. 4. p. 13. Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 1. p. 4. Usser. de Prim. et Brit. Eccl. Antiq. in Epist. Dedicat.

[y] Nicolson ibid. pp. 27. 30. Cave ibid. Tanner. ibid. under Nennius. According to Bale and other writers, says Cave, this author should be set down about A.D. 620. But see Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 955. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 494. where it is insisted, against Bale, that Nennius flourished A. D.

employed to write a history of our nation. It was indeed at a time when learning ran very low in this island, as we may judge by the preface of king [z] Alfred's Saxon translation of Gregory's Pastoral; which I mention the rather for the credit of this writer, and of them that set him on work. No doubt they chose the ablest man that they knew, and he wanted not a good will to have written a history. But [a] he also confessed that he had not wherewith to perform it; and that the poor fragments that he put together were little else than what he was fain to borrow from other neighbouring nations.

In this want that we have of any ancient historian, but such as these, that acknowledged they knew no other before them; how come we to have the knowledge of persons and things which these good men
xii seem to have never heard of? Whence have we that punctual account of so many particulars that passed at the first and second planting of this island? Whence have we that succession of kings from Brutus downward, with notation of time and place, and other circumstances, more minute than could be conveyed without writing?

All these things we owe to the invention of [b] one that lived in very dark times: and then, knowing that whatsoever he should say of this kind, there was none that was able to disprove him, took the liberty to devise what he pleased, and set it forth as undoubted true history. Indeed I must do him the right to

858. Also the preface to Gunn's edition of Nennius, pp. ix–xxii. and notes there. For other references, Stillingfleet ibid. c. 1. p. 8. note q, &c.

[z] Camden. Anglic. &c. Script. p. 25. Alfred here speaks of the extreme ignorance of the clergy, at the commencement of his reign.

[a] Nenn. Hist. Brit. in præfat. et in Apolog. p. 93. Prolog. §. 1. p. 1. §. 3. p. 3.

[b] Geoffrey of Monmouth.

acknowledge that the mother lie of all in his book, I mean that of Brutus, was not wholly of [c] Geoffrey's devising. He might have had the ground of it from others, and particularly from [d] Merlin or Taliessin; for there is something of our coming from Troy in old verses, that go under their names: but because it is so little that they say, and the authority of that is not xiii certain, I rather believe he had it from Nennius before mentioned.

Where [e] Nennius undertakes to give account of the original of the Britons, he tells us, that there were two accounts of it then in the world.

[f] One of them was that which (as he tells us) "he found by tradition of the ancients that were the first inhabitants of Britain;" namely, that they were so called from one Britto, that was the son of Hysichion, the son of Alanus, of the progeny of Japhet: which Alanus, by his telling, peopled all this part of Europe. For from him, by one son came Francus, Romanus, Alemannus and Britto; by another came Gothus, Walagothus, Gepidus, Burgundus and Longobardus; by a

[c] See Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 5. p. 274. As to Geoffrey of Monmouth and his writings, see Nicolson ibid. p. 30. Cave ibid. under Galfridus. Tanner. ibid. under Gallofridus, where, in notes [d], [e], see his character by various later writers. Stillingfleet ibid. note [z], for additional authorities. Aaron Thompson, of Queen's college, Oxford, translated and published Geoffrey's History of Britain, in 1718, with a large preface concerning its authority, which compare with the writers quoted in Stillingfleet, ibid. note [z]. This writer flourished, says Cave, A.D. 1151.

[d] Nicolson ibid. part 1. chap. 3. p. 26, compared with p. 30. Tanner. ibid. under Merlinus and Teliessinus. Tanner mentions two of the name of Merlin, one a native of Caermarthen, A.D. 480; the other of North Britain, A.D. 570; Taliessin about A.D. 540.

[e] Nennius ibid. cap. 2. p. 98. §. 7. p. 6. and note 13.

[f] Ibid. cap. 13. p. 102. §. 18. p. 16. Ex traditione veterum, qui incolæ fuerunt in primis Britanniæ temporibus. Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 5. p. 278.

third came Wandalus, Saxo, Boguardus and Turingus. The meaning of all this is very plain; not that any single persons called by these names, but that all these nations were descended from Japhet, and were all first called by the general name of Alani; which may have
xiv some truth in it for aught I know; but howsoever, it is observable that this was the most ancient tradition that he found among the Britons in his age.

His other account of our original was, that we came from one Brutus, a Roman [g] consul: and to make out this extraction, he tells us, [h] it is written in the Annals of the Romans, that Æneas came with his son Ascanius into Italy, and that there he begat Sylvius, who had a son called Brutus, that came hither and gave the name to this island. So that plainly this butterfly was not bred in our country, but flew hither out of Italy; where he that will know more of it must look into the Annals of the Romans. I am afraid that some of them that came hither from Rome in the Saxon times played pranks with us, and abused the simplicity of our ancestors in this, as they did in other things.

But howsoever this story came into the world, it was enough for our Geoffrey that he found it in Nen-
xv nius's book; (for it is Nennius whom he usually quotes by the name of Gildas; and his book is all that I can find he had to shew for his British History.) It was a story so agreeable to the humour of that age, that a soberer man than he was could not forbear to recommend himself with it. In his age it was come to be a very modish thing for writers to derive their nations

g On the word 'consul,' see Gunn's edition of Nennius, note 6. p. 94.

h Nennius, cap. 3. p. 99. §. 10. p. 7. Annalibus Romanorum sic scriptum est. Gunn's note 5. ibid. p. 90. Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 5. p. 277. and note [t].

from the Trojans. There is more than one instance of this in [i]Henry archdeacon of Huntingdon's history. [k]He tells us, that when king Henry I. (who was not called Beauclerk for nothing) inquired into the originals of the French nation, one of their learned men told him, that "as most other nations of Europe, so the French, were descended from the Trojans:" and thereupon shewed how their ancestors came from Troy with Antenor, &c. This happened in the year 1128, as the archdeacon there shews. And he tells this without any censure, but rather, as it seems, with approbation. [l]For in that part of his history which he was then writing, and which ends within seven years after that time, he likewise begins his work with xvi that account of our original from the Trojans. It was very soon after this, that our [m]Geoffrey, archdeacon of Monmouth, writ his History of the British Kings. For, in his Preface before it, he mentions the death of king Henry I. with which Huntingdon ends that part of his history: and he dedicates his book to Robert, earl of Gloucester, son of Henry I., who died within eleven years after him. It is plain that both these historians had that book of Nennius before them, where they could not but see the two accounts that he gives of our original. But, as if they had winked upon one another, neither of them takes notice of that which was properly the British tradition; but they were both alike for the romancing account of our

[i] Nicolson ibid. chap. 5. p. 48. Cave and Tanner, as before, under Henricus Huntindoniensis. The former says, that Henry wrote A.D. 1150.

[k] Henric. Huntindon. Hist. Rerum Anglic. lib. 7. p. 219. b. lin. 13. p. 383.

[l] Ibid. lib. 1. pag. 171. b. p. 300.

[m] See Stillingfleet ibid. c. 5. p. 327. That Henry of Huntingdon was acquainted with and copied Geoffrey's work, see Lloyd's Letter to Price, p. 259. as quoted in the next page, not.P.

being descended from the Trojans. Only Henry of Huntingdon, more like an historian, delivers that part as he found it in his author; but Geoffrey, taking that only for a ground, runs division upon it, sports himself
xvii with his fancy, and says any thing that came in his head.

When Geoffrey's book came abroad into the world, it was presently looked upon as a new light in history. All the writers of that age did, as it were, run to light their candles at it: and their haste to get before one another was so great, that it hath given occasion to us that live at this distance, to doubt whether some of them did not write before Geoffrey himself. Among these, I do not reckon the old English poem that [n] Wheloc quotes in his notes upon [o] Bede: for though it has the language of Geoffrey's age, yet perhaps it might be something older, for it is writ in the old Saxon character; but there is nothing in that poem which might not have been taken immediately out of Nennius's history. But those which are said to have written before Geoffrey, and yet have many of those things that are taxed in his book, are chiefly [p] Sigebert of Gembleurs, and [q] Alfred of Beverley. For the latter of the two,

[n] In Bed. Hist. Eccles. p. 25. This poem relates to the descent of the Britons from Brutus. See Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 5. p. 278.

[o] Concerning Bede, and his editor Wheloc, see Nicolson ibid. part 2. ch. 2. p. 81. Cave, Tanner, as above; and his Life, &c. at the end of the Appendix, in Smith's edition. Cave sets down Bede, A.D. 701.

[p] Cave ibid. under Sigebertus Gemblacensis, notices the interpolations made, and liberties taken, with this writer's Chronicle. Cave states that Sigebert wrote A.D. 1101. Bishop Lloyd in his Letter to Mr. Tho. Price of Llanvyllen, in the Miscellanea Curiosa, or Miscellaneous Tracts, vol. 1. p. 253. shews that Robert, the Norman abbot of Mount St. Michael, was the interpolator of Sigebert.

[q] As to Alfred, here mentioned, see Nicolson ibid. part 1. ch. 5. p. 47. Tanner. ibid. under Alfredus Beverlacensis; who should be consulted as to the period in which Alfred was engaged as a writer. Concerning his Extracts from Geoffrey of Monmouth,

though some would have it that he died before Geoffrey writ, yet their authors, [r] Bale and Pits, have enough to shew the contrary; for in their catalogues of Alfred's works they name his "Extracts out of Geoffrey," and it is the first book that they mention of his writing. The great doubt is concerning Sigebert; for he certainly died in the year [rr] 1113, which was above twenty years before Geoffrey writ. It cannot be denied that the contents of his history are summed up in the preface that goes before Sigebert, and are afterward distributed in his Chronicle. But how did these things get into Sigebert? For it is certain they are none of that author's. [s] There are no such things in that edition of his work, which was made from the original copy in his monastery. They must have been put in by some other after Sigebert's death. And from whence, but out of Geoffrey's history?

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It is plainly affirmed by the most learned primate, that always knew what he said, but did not always tell his reader so, as he does in this case, [t] "We know that many things out of Geoffrey are thrust into Sigebert." But not to leave this upon any one's credit, the reader may know it himself, if he please, by comparing together the two books of which we speak. Whence did [u] Sigebert learn that "Brutus built the city of Tours in

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with further proofs, see Lloyd's Letter, as before, pp. 263. 269. and note following from Hearne.

[r] Bale. Script. Anglic. cent. 2. cap. 74. p. 188. Pits. de Illust. Angl. Script. æt. 12. A.D. 1136. n. 192. p. 204. Alfred. Beverl. Deflor. Galfrid. See Hearne's Preface, p. xxv. &c. to Aluredi Beverlacensis Annal. where it is asserted that Alfred compiled no such work, and that he preceded Geoffrey of Monmouth in writing his Annals.

[rr] Lloyd's Letter, ibid. p. 256.

[s] Chronicon Sigebert. in Præf. edit. per Miræum.

[t] Usser. de Primord. cap. 8. p. 201. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 109.

[u] Preface before Sigebert's Chron. p. 3. ibid. compared with Sigebert. in Pist. Script. Germ. tom. 1. p. 478. from Galfrid. Monemutens. Brit. utriusque Reg. et Princip. Orig. et Gest. &c. fol. 8.

France," and that, "as Homer witnesseth?" Who taught him to say that [x] Brutus found "four generations of Trojans" with Corineus? or to speak of [y] Hengist's "building a promontory" in Kent? and of the [z] Saxons' "destroying all the promontories from Scotland to York?" All these are Geoffrey's own words, as well as his materials; howsoever they happened to come into Sigebert's preface and Chronicle. But not to hold the reader in doubt any longer; he that put these fine things into Sigebert, is so honest as to tell where he had them. [a] He saith, he had them out of "the History of the Britons:" and to shew what history he meant, he saith it was "lately translated out of British into Latin." How lately? It was not done while Sigebert was living; if this was our British His-
xx tory, now extant: and yet it could be no other; for Geoffrey himself saith of this, [b] "I translated it out of British into Latin." Well then, let others bring Sigebert for an author that writ these things before Geoffrey; I shall bring him that foisted these things into Sigebert for an instance how early others copied from Geoffrey: which is a further proof of the credit that was given to his fables, even then in his own age.

It is true, that even in that fabulous age he was censured by some for that licentious way of writing history; especially by [c] Giraldus Cambrensis and [d] Wil-

[x] Ib. from Galfr. ib. fol. 7. a.

[y] Sigebert. Chron. A.D. 434. from Galfr. fol. 47. ibid. Compare p. 21. of Miræus's edition, ibid. with p. 495. in Pistorius's edition.

[z] Sigebert. Chron. A.D. 457. in Miræus, p. 28. compared with Pistorius's edition, p. 502. from Galfr. fol. 65. b. ibid.

[a] Sigebert. Chron. A.D. 470. in Miræus, as before, p. 30. compared with Pistorius ibid. p. 504. See Lloyd's Letter, as in p. xvii. note P.

[b] Galfr. Monemutens. ibid. in Præf. et in fine libri, fol. 101. b.

[c] For the life and writings of Giraldus, see Cave ibid. under Sylvester Giraldus; and also Tanner. ibid. under Giraldus. Nicolson ibid. part 1. ch. 2. p. 19, &c. Cave states that Giraldus flourished A.D. 1198.

[d] William, the monk of Newburgh, or Newborough in York-

liam of Newborough; men that used so much of it themselves, that they seem to have feared he might bring it in disgrace by writing with too much extravagance. But what had either of them to say against the Trojan part of Geoffrey's history? [e] Giraldus, for his part, follows him in it; as if this were the only true thing in his book. [f] Neubrigensis, as sharp as he falls on Geoffrey for other things, yet hath not the least reflection on him for this. I know not whereunto I may ascribe this partiality, but that either they believed it themselves, as others did, or at least they durst not disbelieve a thing that took so generally in their age. How much less could others contradict it a hundred years after, when it was come to be a tradition universally received? and that with so great an authority, that it was thought sufficient to prove any thing that could be inferred from it. There can be no greater instance of this than was given in that [g] controversy between king Edward I. and pope Boniface VIII. about the title of the kingdom of Scotland: that king founded his title in the right of king Brutus; the parliament owned it in a writing under their seals; they sent it to the pope, who gave no answer, but yielded the question. About a hundred years after this, it was alleged in a [h] general council, by all our bishops and learned

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shire, was surnamed Little. See Cave ibid. under Gulielmus Parvus (Neubrigensis); Tanner ibid. under Petyt Gulielmus; Nicolson ibid. part 1. ch. 5. p. 48. Cave fixes him A.D. 1195.

[e] Girald. Cambr. descr. cap. 7. p. 886. in Camden. Anglica, &c.

[f] Gulielm. Neubrigensis in Procem. ad Hist. Rer. Angl. tom. 1. p. 7. See Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 5. pp. 278. 328. and note [c] in former page.

[g] Matt. Westmon. Flor. Hist. A.D. 1301. p. 439. Walsingham, Hypod. Neustr. p. 492. inter Camden. ibid. Knighton inter Twysden. Decem Script. Angl. col. 2484. See p. xliii.

[h] Council of Constance, sess. 31. protest. Anglic. Vide Labbei Concil. tom. 12. col. 1739–1753. for the protestation at length.

men, who stood upon it as an undeniable proof of the nobleness and antiquity of this kingdom.

xxii This might well make our ancestors fond of their Trojan original, when they saw all the great men judge it so honourable, and the learnedest man living vouch for the truth of it. So that we are not to wonder, at this day, that we find the name of Brutus at the top of our pedigrees. If others valued themselves so much in being his successors, we had reason to glory much more that he was our progenitor.

[i] But the honour that is got by a lie lasts no longer than till truth comes to light. Now, since printing hath brought so much knowledge into this part of the world, we see our neighbouring nations have sent away their Trojans to the poets from whence they came. And if we are resolved to keep ours, we must do it in spite of all true history. Now therefore, if we are fond of a noble extraction, we must lay out for it some more probable way. And the way is obvious enough to any one that is not either destitute of learning or possessed

xxiii with a love of knight-errantry: it is not without suspicion of one, or both, of these causes, that some are so concerned for Geoffrey's credit, as if the honour of our nation were to stand or fall by his stories.

"I wonder what they mean," [k] says the Scottish historian, that, "in spite of all the truth in antiquity," they will needs have it that they come from the Trojans, that were at the best a conquered people; and among them, from such as were traitors to their country: when

[i] Stillingfleet's Preface, ibid. p. xviii.

[k] Buchanan. Rer. Scot. lib. 2. p. 15. 2. lin. 52. Oper. tom. 1. p. 24. Nicolson, in his Scottish Historical Library, part 2. ch. 2. p. 31, &c. gives a copious account of this historical work; see also Tanner ibid. under Buchananus; who died, says he, A.D. 1582.

they might content themselves (if they pleased) with that which [l] "many acknowledge, and no learned man will gainsay, that they are descended from them that were the first planters of their country." This is with great truth acknowledged by that learned writer; not only to be that which we may justly assume, but to be one of the greatest things that can be said of any nation. It was (as he observes) accounted so by the Athenians, who were the most competent judges of honour, as being in their time the wisest and most learned of all nations.

But we have this to say for ourselves so many ages xxiv after the Athenians, when perhaps there are not many nations in the world that can say it beside us. We live still in that country of which our ancestors were the first inhabitants. And though we have been twice conquered since, yet we have still kept our ground, and whatsoever we lost either of those times, we have gained much more by losing it. For by being a conquest of the Roman empire, we got so much the earlier to be subjects to Christ. And by the English conquest, (which was not till after eight hundred years' war; nor even then, but upon an honourable composition,) we obtained a much happier condition than ever our ancestors enjoyed, or than we could have been capable of otherwise.

And we have this to say more, which few can say elsewhere, that we keep still the same language which was spoken first in this country; and we know no reason to doubt, but that, as one of our ancestors told a great king that invaded us, [m] God will have an ac- xxv

[l] Cæsar. Comment. de Bello Gallico, lib. 5. cap. 12. p. 165. Diod. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. 4. p. 209. marg.

[m] Camden. Brit. de primis Incolis, p. 17. vol. 1. p. xvii. ex Girald. Typogr. Walliæ. Girald. de Illaudibilibus Walliæ, part. 2. cap. 10. p. 455. in Wharton. Anglia Sacra, tom. 2.

count for this country in no other language but ours at the day of judgment.

Other things I could add, to the just honour of our nation, but this one (in my judgment) is more than we can forego without being very great losers by all the advantage that is given us in exchange for it by our romancing historian.

That the [n] Scots have sped no better than we, in the honour that hath been done them by their writers, will soon appear to them that have any skill in antiquity. [o] I do not speak here of the ancient Scots that live in Ireland, who no doubt have some remains of very ancient true history. But our business at present is with them that live in the isle of Britain, the Albion Scots, as they are called for distinction sake: of them it is certain, they have not any history that was written within a thousand years after Christ; except those historical verses in the manuscript annals of [p] Melrose, which perhaps may be of an ancienter date. [q] The oldest
xxvi writer of their nation that is quoted by their printed historians is [r] Veremund, archdeacon of St. Andrew's,

[n] See chap. 1. §. 4. p. 7, &c. of this work, Stillingfleet's Preface, ibid. and a large portion of his fifth chapter, p. 248, &c.

[o] Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. xxxviii. &c.

[p] Nicolson, in his English Historical Library, part 1 ch. 5. p. 51, has noticed the Chronicle of Melrose: in his Scottish Historical Library, part 2. ch. 2. p. 22, and Appendix, n. 3. p. 105. at greater length. This Chronicle, referred to by Stillingfleet, ibid. Preface, p. xlix. was printed at Oxford, in 1684, among the Rer. Anglic. Script. Vet. by Fulman. It commences in the eighth, and ends in the thirteenth century. Jamieson in his Ancient History of the Culdees, ch. 8. p. 168, thinks that the celebrated Aidan founded the Culdean establishment at Melrose; and of which, as to its history and antiquities, he has given many interesting particulars.

[q] Stillingfleet ibid. p. l. &c.

[r] Nicolson gives an extended account of Veremundus, in his Scottish Hist. Libr. part 2. ch. 2. p. 20. Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. xlix. chap. 5. p. 261. and Lloyd in the present work, ch. 7. §. 4. p. 151. Hector Boethius says that Veremundus was archdeacon of St. Andrew's in 1076. Nicolson ibid. p. 20.

that lived (as they say) about the time of William the Conqueror: and next to him is [s] John Campbell, who is said to have lived in the time of our [t] Edward the First: but their works are now lost, if ever they were in being. I say, if they were; for I doubt it, because I have not met with any one that hath seen them; nor are they quoted, that I know, but by [u] Hector Boethius, who in his preface, and elsewhere, names them for his principal authors. But I doubt whether he had those authors whom he quotes; for he never quotes him that was his author indeed, the [v] monk of Fordon, whom he seems to have followed in all his antiquities.

[x] This monk of [y] Fordon writ no earlier than in the [z] fourteenth century after Christ, and seems to have had no more knowledge of antiquity than others had that lived in his age. And yet, as far as I can perceive, it was he that helped the later historians to all those discoveries of persons and things, that were unknown xxvii to all their predecessors. Hector put this monk's tales into the form of an history; and pieced them out with a very good invention, that part in which he chiefly excelled. Buchanan put them into excellent Latin: he could have put them into as good verse, if he had

[s] Nicolson ibid. p. 23. Tanner ibid. under Campus Bellus.

[t] Edward began his reign A.D. 1272, and died A.D. 1307.

[u] Nicolson ibid. speaks frequently of Boethius:—particularly, part 2. ch. 1. p. 3. ch. 2. p. 29. Tanner ibid. under Boethius. Stillingfleet ibid. quotes Boethius very often; among others, Preface, p. liv. ch. 5. p. 255. Boethius flourished at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries.

[v] Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. lvii. corrects this error.

[x] See ch. 7. §. 1. p. 133.

[y] Nicolson ibid. p. 23. for a considerable notice of Fordon. Tanner ibid. under Fordon, Johannes. Stillingfleet ibid. frequently quotes Fordon; Preface, pp. v. lvi., &c. ch. 2. p. 51, &c. ch. 5. p. 249, &c. He must not be confounded with John abbot of Ford in Devonshire, confessor of king John, who wrote one hundred and fifty years previously. Tanner ib. under Joannes, abbas Fordensis.

[z] Cave ibid. under Joannes de Fordun, says A.D. 1360.

pleased; and that perhaps had been better, for then they would have looked more like [a] a poem.

That they are by no means to be allowed the name of an history, it were easy to prove by all the ways that we have to judge of such matters. I shall only insist upon four ways of proving this, whereof the two first are the same that [b] Buchanan himself useth in his refutation of our British antiquities before mentioned.

First, as to our British originals, he refutes them by shewing the distance of time at which the first author of them lived from the persons and things of which he writ.

xxviii And then, as to other parts of our history, by shewing that they are contradicted by the Greek and Roman historians. These are two such notes of imposture as, wheresoever they are found, may very well shake the credit of any writer.

But besides, there are two other things to be said of the Scots, which Buchanan could not truly say of our British historians. First, [c] that many of their antiquities are nothing else but their superstructures upon such fables of our Geoffrey's as might have been easily convicted by those ways of discovery. And secondly, that the account which they give us of the originals of their nation and religion were not only unknown to their own ancestors, but that they are irreconcilably different from those accounts which their ancestors gave of themselves, and which were held most authentic among them in ancient times. This I take to be a most clear and undeniable conviction of their novelty.

xxix First, it is a shrewd presumption against the truth of any matter delivered in history, when it is said to have

[a] Tanner. ib. under Buchanan. &c. Oper. tom. 1. p. 22, &c.
[b] Rer. Scot. lib. 2. fol. 14. 1,
[c] See p. xxxiii.

been many ages before the time of him that was the first author that mentioned it: and yet he doth not pretend to have seen any ancient record for it, or to have any other author that lived within an age or two of those times. I do not see what we can say for our writers, when this is alleged against them by Buchanan in the case of our Brutus, and of all that succession of kings that are said to have reigned in this isle before Cæsar came hither. And if any one in like manner should question the [d] story of our first Christian king Lucius, it must rest upon the credit of venerable Bede, that writ above five hundred years after the time when king Lucius is said to have lived: unless [e] Bede had it out of the 'Gesta Pontificum,' that mixen of ill-contrived forgeries, which perhaps was made before Bede's time. We may reasonably presume that Gildas never heard any thing of king Lucius: which gives a great suspicion of the truth of that story. But let this pass as it will. xxx

For Buchanan's part, he might have done well to have remembered this way of trial at home among his own authors: which if he had done, he would have spared many of the chief things of ancient times that he has in his history. For which of his authors, or what other whom they name, can be said to have lived within twelve hundred years of [f] Fergus, their pretended first monarch? or within six hundred years of [g] Donald,

[d] For the history and legends relating to Lucius, consult Usser. de Primord. cap. 3–6. pp. 30–141. Addend. pp. 975, &c. 1055, &c. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 3–6. pp. 17–73. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 2. pp. 58. 70. Gunn's note 48. p. 133. in his edition of Nennius.

[e] Usser. Præfat. ad Primord. et Brit. Eccles. Antiq. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 2. p. 67. and note [z].

[f] Compare ch. 1. §. 9. p. 32, &c. with Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. v., &c. ch. 5. p. 251, &c. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 612. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 321, &c.

[g] Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. lxiii. ch. 2. p. 52, &c. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 613. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 322.

their first Christian king? And yet they pretend to give a certain account of the acts of both these kings, and of the years that they reigned, and of their successors, for many ages, before they had the use of letters, for aught that appears in any history.

But some of their writers are so wise as to name no particular author: but to say, [h] "thus we find in our ancient annals;" and under that name they give themselves leave to utter what they please. But when our
xxxi historians do the same, Buchanan takes them up for it; and says, [i] "they that pretend to bring things out of old annals ought to give some account who first delivered those things, where they lay so long hid, how they passed uncorrupt through so many ages." It cannot be denied that these are very reasonable inquiries. But they seem to have been out of Buchanan's head when he writ the Lives of his forty first kings. For else he would not have thought it worth the while to have mentioned any one of them in his history. But it seems he thought it was sufficient that he found them so in [k] Hector Boethius, whom [l] he follows, without asking any one of those questions that he puts to our British historian.

Another thing which Buchanan often takes notice of, and not without cause, in our old British history, as to that part of it which fell within the time of the Roman emperors, is the great and manifest difference, in some things irreconcilable, between ours
xxxii and the Roman historians. It cannot be denied that this objection cuts off a great part of our British antiquities. And herein indeed the Scots have the odds of us, that their figments are not so easy to be evicted out

[h] So Buchanan. ib. in Reg. 1. et passim. lib. 4. fol. 33. 1, &c. Oper. tom. 1. p. 53. See Mackenzie ibid. p. 39.

[i] Buchanan. Rer. Scot. lib. 2. p. 14. 1. lin. 42. Oper. tom. 1. p. 22.

[k] Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. xvii. &c.

[l] Ibid. And Lesley also.

of the Roman history. The reason of this is plain. Their Hector lived so much later than our Geoffrey, that by means of the invention of printing, which came into the world about twenty years before him, he could see divers books of Roman history that were scarce to be found in Geoffrey's days. So that he was aware of that danger of lashing out, and knew the bounds within which he might invent without fear of discovery. But yet he did not observe them so well, but that he may be disproved in very many instances. Nay, Buchanan himself, who understood the Roman history exceeding well, perhaps no man better in his age; yet writing after them that were not so well skilled in it, they left too great a task upon that learned man, to make their fictions agree with the Roman history. And sometimes they drew him after them into gross absurdities; xxxiii of which I shall give a clear instance in what I write upon the next head.

The mean while, to give this note its full scope, I shall extend it to others as well as to the Romans. It is equally due to all that write the things of their own times, or such as they find in good records; that, so far, their writings should be a kind of standard to all those that come after them. This right I [m] assert to Adamnanus, and to Bede among others; and shew that even where they writ of the things of their own times, [n] the Scottish historians have taken the liberty to vary from them in sundry particulars.

By what hath been said, it sufficiently appears that ours are not the only antiquities that are to be convicted of falsehood by Buchanan's rules. But whatsoever our antiquities were, it was all one to Buchanan's

[m] Chap. 1. §. 10. p. 38. ch. 2. §. 4. p. 58. and §. 6. p. 63.

[n] As Boethius; see ch. 1. §. 10. p. 38.

authors. Those men whom he follows in his history were pleased to follow him that was [o]the worst of our
xxxiv writers, when they thought it would make for their turn; though the things they took from him were liable to either of those ways of conviction. I ought not to say this without some kind of proof, though it will take up more room than can well be allowed in a preface.

[p] Geoffrey having found that Severus the emperor died here in Britain, thought it most for the honour of our country to kill him fairly in battle. And therefore by power of fancy [q]he creates one Fulgenius to be general against him: who being overpowered here at home, went and fetched in the Picts out of Scythia, and with their aid fought Severus, and killed him, and was killed together for company. All this was Geoffrey's own proper invention. And then having found that Severus left a son, Bassianus, that was his successor in the Roman empire; he makes his Britons set up this Bassianus to be their king, on his mother's account, who forsooth was the sister of Fulgenius. Then having
xxxv found that [r] Britain was governed by Carausius at some time after—he knew not when—to tack these things together, he makes the forementioned emperor [s] Bassianus (being betrayed by the Picts that came in with

[o] Geoffrey of Monmouth.

[p] Mackenzie ibid. p. 149, &c. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 5. p. 259.

[q] Galfr. Monemut. fol. 34. a.b. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 584. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 304. Gunn's note 52. in his edition of Nennius, p. 140, states that "the national traditions may have confounded Alexander and Septimius Severus together; for there is a passage in Lampridius, (Script. Hist. August. p. 587.) which seems to intimate, that according to some, he was slain in Britain."

[r] Usser. ibid. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 2. p. 72.

[s] Bassianus died in Mesopotamia, in the year 217. Carausius usurped in Britain, in the year 286.

his uncle Fulgenius) be killed in fight by this Carausius. There was a distance of some seventy years between them: but that was nothing to Geoffrey: he writ (I dare say) what might be true for aught he knew.

But, true or false, it fitted the turn of John of Fordon, who it seems wanted matter for that part of his [t] Scotichronicon; and to help his invention, he took the hint from our Geoffrey, who seemed to offer it to his hand, by engaging his countrymen the Picts in that war with Severus. Then for congruity, he joins the [u] Scots with the Picts, and heads them with a noble Briton, Fulgentius, (that seemed to be a more genteel name than Fulgenius,) whom he makes duke or [x] consul of the Albanian Britons. Other Scottish writers follow him in this; but Buchanan would not swallow that gudgeon of a British [y] consul, and he knew the Roman xxxvi writers too well to contradict them so palpably in the story of Severus's death. But [z] Dempster is unsufferable; [a] who, not content to make use of our Geoffrey's Fulgenius as others do, spirits him away from us, and faces us down that he was not an Englishman, (whoever said he was,) but a Scot. And withal he makes him a Christian, and tells us what books he writ, and laments that they are not extant, as if he were in earnest in all

[t] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 615. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 323.

[u] Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 5. pp. 251. 259.

[x] See p. xiv.

[y] "The term 'consul,' in the middle ages, became a title of honour, and was conferred on illustrious persons." Gunn's note 6. p. 94. in his edition of Nennius.

[z] For Dempster's character, see chap. 7. §. 5. p. 153. Nicolson's Scottish Historical Library, pt. 2. chap. 4. p. 58. Stillingfleet ibid. Pref. p. l. chap. 5. p. 248, has given a catalogue of Dempster's pretended authorities. Dempster died at Bologna, in Italy, A. D. 1625.

[a] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 615. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 323.

this. But whereas our Geoffrey makes the emperor Bassianus be killed by Carausius, (wherein I believe he is followed by all the Scottish historians, though at present I cannot come at some of their books,) [b] John Major takes lower; [c] he only says a Roman general of that name was overcome and killed by Carausius and the Scots. [d] Buchanan makes him the Roman lieutenant in Britain, and says only that the Scots and Picts leagued with Carausius against him. But who told him that there was a Bassianus lieutenant of Britain,
xxxvii or that there was a man of that name living here in Carausius's time? Sure he could not have this from any of the Roman historians: none ever said it before our Geoffrey. And is he now such an author that Buchanan should think fit to say any thing after him? Yes, so far as to take Geoffrey's seedlings and graft upon them. This he and his authors do familiarly, as I could shew by very many [e] instances; they seem to have thought they had cause to be angry with him, when he left them wholly to invent for themselves.

But that which I chiefly insist on is this, that the now extant Scottish historians give a quite [f] different account of the originals, both of their nation and religion, from that which was given by their ancestors; and which was nationally owned by them in their public instruments and writings.

[g] The present nation of the Scots, so far as they differ in extraction from the English, are chiefly composed of the Picts and Irish Scots, as I shall afterwards shew.

[b] Nicolson ibid. ch. 2. p. 28, for an account of Major's work, which he wrote A. D. 1518.

[c] Joh. Major. de Gest. Scot. lib. 1. cap. 15. fol. 21.

[d] Buchan. Rer. Scot. in 34. Rege. lib. 4. fol. 42. 2. lin. 81. Oper. tom. 1. p. 68.

[e] See a notable instance in this book, chap. 7. §. 4. p. 151.

[f] See two next pages and notes.

[g] See ch. 1. §. 3. p. 5. §. 8. p. 28.

Of the [h] Picts, they are very different accounts that xxxviii
were given by Adamnanus a Scottish writer, that lived about the year of Christ 700, and that were given seven hundred years after his time by the monk of Fordon and his followers. This the reader may see more largely, if he please, for his own satisfaction, in the most learned primate [i] Usher's book Of the Beginnings of the British Churches.

Of the [k] Scots' original there was no certain history, as [l] Nennius saith, in his time, which was about the year 850. But the best account he could get, was that which I have taken out of him and [m] inserted in the following book. There was nothing said then, nor for many ages after, by any writer that I know, concerning Fergus the son of Ferchard and that long succession of kings which are now in all the Scottish historians. And after this succession from Fergus was published by Hector Boethius, it seems it was not then believed by the learned men of his own nation. For Polydore Virgil tells us, that when Hector's book was newly xxxix
come forth, [n] Gawen Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, warned him of it, and earnestly prayed him [o] not to follow that history in writing of the Scottish matters. And that bishop gave him another account of their original,

[h] Lloyd, in chap. 1. §. 3. p. 5, &c. speaks more at large on this subject. Nicolson ibid. part 2. ch. 2. p. 18, for some account of Adamnanus. See Cave ibid. and Tanner ibid. under his name.

[i] Usser. de Primord. Addend. p. 1018. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 15. p. 301. Consult Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 5. p. 240, &c. 274, &c.

[k] Nennius ibid. cap. 8. p. 100. §. 14. p. 11. note 21. Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 731. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 382.

[l] See note y, p. xi.

[m] Chap. 1. §. 5. p. 10. Nennius, cap. 9. p. 100. §. 15. p. 12. and from him H. Huntingdon. Hist. p. 172. a. lin. 12. p. 300. Stillingfleet ibid. Pref. p. v. &c. chap. 5. p. 255, &c.

[n] Pol. Virgil. Anglic. Hist. lib. 3. p. 50. Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. liv. compared with Mackenzie ibid. p. 30. Tanner ib. under Virgilius and Douglass.

[o] Vide Tanner. ibid.

which, in sum, was the same that was given so many ages before to our [p] Nennius, as was before mentioned. His account is certainly no truer than the other, but it is plain that there is a great difference between them.

For the time of their first coming into Britain, it may be worth noting, that the ancient Culdee of St. Andrew's, [q] whose book bishop Usher had in MS., says that all Britain had received the Christian religion before the Picts and Scots entered into this island. This, though it could not be true, yet it seems was then the current tradition. But now, since the [r] monk of Fordon's time, (howsoever he came to discover it,) [s] all their writers are agreed that they came hither long before Christ's incarnation.

xl For the Scots, they can tell how long before to a year, by a very good token, that it was [t] at the time when Alexander the Great took Babylon.

[u] Concerning the Picts, it is now the most received tradition, that they came hither a good while after the Scots. This is directly contrary to the opinion which was in [x] Bede's time: for he saith, that this island was first planted with Britons, who possessed themselves of the greatest part of it; and that next the Picts came and seated themselves north of the Britons; and after both these, in process of time, the Scots come into the Picts' part of this island, to be a third nation. I shall

p Ch. 1. §. 5. p. 10. and notes.
q Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p.579. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p.302.
r See note [v], p. xxvi.
s Chap. 1. §. 5. p. 10.
t Buchan. Rer. Scot. in Rege 1. lib. 4. fol. 34. 1. lin. 13. Oper. tom. 1. p. 54. See chap. 1. §. 5. p. 10. Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. xv.
u Vide David. Camerar. de Scotorum Fortitudine. Introduc. p. 5. Appendix ad lib. 3. p. 207.
x Bedæ Histor. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 23. p. 41. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 587. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 306. Stillingfleet ibid. Pref. p. xxxix. as to the Picts, ibid. chap. 5. p. 239. and notes, as to the Scots.

not detain the reader here to shew how much of this is true; that will be done [y] in its place in the following book. But it must be confessed that Bede lived while the Picts were a nation apart from the Scots; and no doubt he knew from them, of both those nations in his age, what tradition they had then of their own originals. If his be not a better authority than any that xli they have to the contrary, yet at least it sufficeth to my purpose, to shew that their tradition in Bede's time was very different from that which is now in the Scottish historians.

[z] Of the Picts' and Scots' first conversions to the Christian religion, the reader will find in this book such an account as hath been left us by them which lived in or near the times of their respective conversions. But those ancientest writings were little known, and less considered by them that lived in and after [a] Veremund's age. I name him in this place because Hector Boethius not only pretends to follow him as their most ancient historian, but also mentions him particularly as his author in this matter. But if there was such a man as he is said to have been, and if he writ such a history as he is pretended to have written, and if he had that account of their conversion which is quoted from him, (all which things I may well be allowed to doubt till I see better proof of them,) it is strange that not the least notice should be taken of this man or his xlii history, or this account of the Scots' conversion, by any writer now extant, of all them that lived before the [b] monk of Fordon's time (whom I still take to be Hector's true author for almost every thing that is not purely

[y] Ch. 1. §. 3. p. 5. §. 8. p. 28, &c.
[z] Ch. 2. §. 2. p. 50, &c. Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, pp. lxiii—lxxii. chap. 2. pp. 51—53.
[a] See p. xxvi.
[b] Ibid. and note [v].

his own, or our countryman Geoffrey's, in his account of the Scottish antiquities). But as the account that was given by this monk hath been followed by all their historians that have written since his time, so they that lived in the next age before him gave quite another account of their conversion. I shall prove sufficiently in this book that neither of them is true; but at present I am only to shew that there is no agreement between them.

They that lived an age or two before John of Fordon had a tradition of a wonderful victory obtained by their king Hungus against the Saxons by means of the [c] relics of St. Andrew the apostle, which were then by
xliii divine revelation brought out of Greece into Scotland; and that thereupon the Scots first received the faith of Christ. This was so much believed to be a true account of their first receiving the Christian religion, that the Scots of that age owned it [d] publicly in their apology against king Edward the First, which they gave in to pope Boniface VIII. about the year of Christ 1300. And they made that pope believe it; or else he did not deal fairly with that king in alleging this way of their conversion by a brother of St. Peter's, [e] as a reason why the kingdom of Scotland should belong to him that was St. Peter's successor, and not to the king of England, who then pretended another right to it.

Now this victory over the Saxons, to which the

[c] Jamieson ibid. ch. 7. p. 145, &c. The editor of Sir Robert Sibbald's History of Fife and Kinross, Cupar Fife, 1803. chap. 6. p. 45, note 2, insists, in common with foregoing writers, that Hurgust or Hungus "is a palpable forgery of the priests of St. Andrew's."

[d] Apologia, &c. Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 646. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 340. See p. xxi.

[e] Bonifacii VIII. Bulla. in Usser. Primord. ibid. p. 647. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. ibid.

Scots of that age did relate in this account of their conversion, is said by all the late Scottish writers to have been obtained by [f] Hungus, king of the Picts, about the year of Christ 800. This year 800 was, by the way, more than two hundred years after the [g] conversion of the Saxons. But they that dated their conversion xliv from the time of this victory could not think it was so late: for [h] they say it was four hundred years before the conversion of the Saxons. It is no matter what they thought, that were so grossly ignorant of all ancient history. If there were any truth in the matter of fact as concerning that victory, it must have been after the time when those relics are said to have been first discovered, which was pretty late in the [i] fourth century. And then, indeed, those relics are said to have been received by an [j] Urgust, king of the Picts, whom I believe the monk of Fordon placed there for that purpose. But then the Saxons were not yet come over into Britain, where they must have been for some time before the Scots could have occasion for a victory over them.

And yet to make the matter more difficult, the Saxons were not in this island [k] four hundred years, nor two hundred, before their conversion; so that the pope was certainly misinformed, and the Scots were much more xlv out in their story.

Therefore, to mend the matter, their late writers

[f] Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. pp. 657. 714. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 345. 373.

[g] As to the conversion of the Saxons in Britain, see Stillingfleet's Answer to Cressy, ch. 4. §. 2. in his Works, vol. 5. p. 670.

[h] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. ibid. p. 647. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 340.

[i] Dallæi adversus Latinorum de Cultus Religiosi Objecto Traditionem, lib. 4. cap. 20. p. 692.

[j] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 657. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 345, where the king's name is Hungus. See p. xlii. note [c].

[k] Ibid. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 647. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 340.

have taken it in pieces, and set it up quite another way.

First, they are willing to believe their conntrymen had such a victory over the Saxons, and they pitch upon king Athelstan for the man that suffered in it: from whose death, they say, the place was called [l] Athelstan-Ford. But it falls out unhappily, that the Saxons had [m] no king of that name, but one, that was not born at the time that they set for that victory. Therefore [n] Buchanan thinks, it should have been rather over the Danes than the Saxons. He should have said, that perhaps all this was but fiction, for he could judge of it no otherwise, according to his own rules before mentioned.

Secondly, for the means by which this victory should have been obtained, which was said at first to have been by the relics of St. Andrew, being brought over
xlvi then out of Greece: [o] now they say, those relics were brought long before; but the victory was obtained by a vision of St. Andrew, and by his cross seen in the air, which ever since hath been the badge of that nation. Here is some alteration, as the reader may see, in these particulars.

But this is nothing to that which they have made in the consequence of it; namely, that hereupon they were converted to the faith. Whosoever had considered that these were Picts, and not Scots, must needs have seen the absurdity of this. For from Bede,

[l] See Camden ibid. p. 688. vol. 3. p. 303. which compare with ibid. p. 671. vol. 3. p. 239. The Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 926. 935. p. 140, &c. Ingram's edit.

[m] There was a former Saxon king, named Athelstan; but he reigned over Kent, Essex, Surrey, and Sussex. See the Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 836. p. 90. ibid.

[n] Buchan. Rer. Scot. lib. 5. LXV. Rege. fol. 57. 2. lin. 66. Oper. tom. 1. p. 90. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 715. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 373.

[o] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. pp. 657. 715. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 345. 373.

who was then in every one's hands, it was evident that the Picts were converted long before king Athelstan's time: [p] the south Picts about the year 412, the north Picts about the year 560, as I shall have occasion to shew. But in these public instruments which I have mentioned, it is said that the Scots, not the Picts, owed to St. Andrew's relics, not his vision, for this victory and for their conversion together.

It was certainly false that the Scots of that age were xlvii concerned in that conversion or victory, if any thing of this story had been true. And this their late writers seem to have understood well enough; for they have thrown aside all that part on which the pope grounded his pretension, as if their forefathers had devised it only to serve a turn. And now they stick to nothing but only the date of their conversion. Whereas their ancestors said, that the Scots were converted four hundred years before the Saxons; so they say still: but [pp] the Saxons were converted about the year 600, therefore the Scots' conversion must be about the year 200.

And indeed they hit upon a fit time, for then [q] Victor was pope; whose next predecessor, Eleutherius, as then it was generally believed, had sent them that converted the Britons. Why might it not as well be believed that pope Victor did as much for the Scots? No doubt it might, if there were any good author for it. And why not? Doth not archdeacon Veremund's name xlviii sound as well as venerable Bede's? Might one's authority pass for a king Lucius, and not the other as well for a king [r] Donald? Why might not one remember

p Chap. 2. §. 2. 6. pp. 50. 63. Pref. p. lxiii. cap. 2. p. 51.

pp See p. xliii. note g.

q Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 612. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 321. Stillingfleet's Antiq. ibid.

r Jamieson ibid. cap. 1. p. 6, attaches little credit to the story of king Donald. See Stillingfleet ibid. Pref. p. xii.

things a thousand years before he was born, as well as the other five hundred? No doubt so far they were in the right: and whosoever compares them will see, that one of these stories was a pattern to the other. What our historians made Eleutherius do for our Lucius, the same does Hector Boethius make pope Victor do for Donald.

But if this had been thought of in pope [s] Boniface's time, it might have entitled him to the kingdom of Scotland, much better than that other abandoned account of their conversion. For though it was a wrong way to ground a temporal right upon one's being the author of such a spiritual benefit, yet the pope might judge it a good way, if he pleased; and who could contradict him in that dark superstitious age? But then it
xlix would be expected that he should shew how this right came to him or his see in particular. And for this, it was indeed a miserable fetch to claim under St. Peter's brother as he did: though the king was so civil to him as to take no notice of it in his answer. But to have claimed under his own predecessor pope Victor, would have made his title so clear to any one that had but granted his supposition, that it is hard to think why he should use any other pretension. He would certainly have used no other, if he had not been ignorant of this. And if he was ignorant of it, we may be sure the Scottish nation were so to, for [t] they informed him of this, as well as all other matters in his bull. It appears they told him that which was their current tradition: and knew nothing of that which had been more for his turn. King Donald's conversion was not known then, which is the thing I was to prove.

I think it is sufficiently proved, by all those ways

[s] See p. xliii.
[t] Matthæi Westmonstariens. Flor. Historiar. A. D. 1301. p. 417. lin. ult. p. 434.

before mentioned, that the Scottish historians are not to be credited in what they write of those matters and l
times which are to be considered in the following book. But if, after all that has been said, they must still be good authors, and their word must be taken for things in which they have no author but themselves, I shall only desire, that they which have this esteem for them would be pleased not to argue from their authority; and especially, not in matters of religion. Whosoever will not grant me this request, must give me leave to believe, that either he is not in good earnest, or he does not know what he says, when he writes himself 'a hater of false history.'

PRIMITIVE CHURCH GOVERNMENT

IN

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

THE GENERAL DESIGN OF THIS BOOK.

BEING to give account of the primitive Church government in the islands of Great Britain and Ireland, I think it will be necessary to proceed in this order; first, to shew [a] how these countries were peopled in those times, when the Christian religion was planted here; secondly, [b] how the several nations that dwelt in these islands received the Christian faith; and, thirdly, [c] how the Churches were governed in 2
these nations, before they came under the yoke of the papacy: lastly, having shewn that they were governed by such bishops as are now among us, I [d] shall answer those objections that are brought on the contrary, by them that pretend to shew that there was anciently another way of Church government in some parts of these islands.

[a] Chap. 1. §. 1. p. 2, &c.
[b] Chap. 2. §. 1. p. 48, &c.
[c] Chap. 3, 4, 5. pp. 71. 82. 98.
[d] Chap. 6. §. 1. p. 113, &c. chap. 7. §. 1. p. 133, &c.

CHAP. I.

§. 1. FIRST, I am to shew how this island of Britain was planted at the time when it received the Christian religion.

All the south part of the island, which we now call England and Wales, was then peopled by the civilized Britons, who, having been conquered by the Roman emperors, lived under such governors and garrisons, as were sent hither from Rome, by the conquerors and their successors.

3 The north part of the island, which is now called Scotland, ([e] a name which was not used in that sense in many ages after the time of which we speak,) was peopled partly by the Britons before mentioned, and partly by the Picts, who [f] seem to have been a ruder sort of Britons, [g] that would never yield to the Romans, but still kept up their ancient manners and liberty.

§. 2. The [h] frontier of the Roman Britons against the Picts was first placed between the two friths of [i] Bodotria and Glotta, that are now called of Edinburgh and Dunbarton. There Agricola, in Vespasian's time, made his forts, and put garrisons in them, to shut the Picts, as it were, into another island, as his son-in-law [k] Tacitus expresses it.

[e] See §. 4. p. 9. §. 13. p. 46.

[f] Vide Camden. ibid. de Pict. p. 83. vol. 1. p. xci. Stillingfleet ibid. was of opinion that the Picts came from Scandinavia: see his Preface, p. xxxvi. ch. 5. p. 239, &c. Mackenzie ibid. p. 58.

[g] See §. 3. p. 6.

[h] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 616. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 323. Stillingfleet ibid. Pref. p. lxii. and note; ch. 5. pp. 242. 297. and notes.

[i] Usser. de Primord. Addend. p. 1020. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 15. p. 305. Camden. ibid. pp. 82. 698. vol. 1. p. xc. vol. 3. p. 355. Additions, pp. 358. 360. &c.

[k] Tacit. Vit. Agric. cap. 23. in Oper. tom. 4. p. 91. Usser.

And though by the evil government of the emperor Domitian that frontier was lost, so that the emperor [1]Hadrian was fain to make a new one between Tyne and Solway frith, yet the former was recovered by Lollius Urbicus, lieutenant to his successor Antoninus Pius, who [m] built there a wall of turf to secure it against the Picts, as [n] appears by divers of his inscriptions which have been digged up in that place. When afterwards it was lost again, and Severus the emperor had built his wall of stone upon Hadrian's frontier; yet the former was recovered again by the Romans, and there [o] Carausius built a wall of stone, as we are told by the [p] British historian. This boundary seems to have held till the first Valentinian's time: then being broken through again, it was repaired by his general Theodosius, who [q] reduced all that land between the two frontiers into its former estate, and obtained that it might be a distinct province, called Valentia, from the name of the emperor. Thus it continued till the decay of the Roman empire: but then [r] upon the fresh incursions of Picts and Scots into the civilized country,

de Primord. Addend. p. 1024. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 15. p. 316. Camden. ibid. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 1. p. 33.

[1] Camden. ibid. pp. 46. 650. 699. vol. 1. p. xlviii. vol. 3. pp. 211. 355. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 35.

[m] Capitolin. Ant. Pius, inter Hist. Aug. Scriptor. p. 19. A. Usser. ibid. Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 2. p. 60. note P. Camden. ibid. pp. 46. 650. vol. 1. p. xlix. vol. 3. p. 211.

[n] Vide Camden. ibid. p. 699. vol. 3. p. 355. Usser. ibid. Stillingfleet ibid.

[o] Aurel. Victor. Hist. Roman. Breviar. de Cæsaribus, p. 154.

[p] Nenn. ibid. cap. 19. p. 103. §. 23. p. 19. note 7. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 586. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 305. Camden. ibid. pp. 51. 700. vol. 1. p. liii. vol. 3. p. 356. Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 5. p. 257.

[q] Ammian. Marcell. Rerum Gestarum, l. 28. pp. 369. 15, &c. cap. 3. p. 406. Camden. ibid. pp. 56. 111. 651. 655. vol. 1. pp. lix. cxxix. vol. 3. pp. 212. 231. Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 96. cap. 17. p. 819. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 51. 427. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 5. p. 287. b.

[r] See, in this chapter, §. 6. and 7. pp. 16–28.

the works were new made, and [s] first a rampire of earth was built there, and then [t] a wall of stone, with several castles or forts to defend it; the ruins whereof [u] are yet to be seen, and [v] are called by the name of [w] Graham's Dike, or Gramy's Dike, or Grime's Dike.

The Roman part of Britain was [x] first made a præsidial province by Agricola before mentioned. Afterward [y] by Severus it was divided into two provinces, called Superior and Inferior. Lastly, [z] by Constantine the Great it was divided into four; to wit, Britannia prima, Britannia secunda, Maxima Cæsariensis, and Flavia Cæsariensis; to which [a] a fifth was added by Theodosius, namely, that Valentia which I have mentioned. But whether the provinces were one or more, the Roman part of the island was still under one governor, sent by the emperor: which governor was at first [b] called his proprætor, or lieutenant, till Constantine's time; and then, the division of the empire

[s] Gildas de Excid. Britanniæ, p. 1006. inter Orthodoxographa. Hist. Gild. §. 12. p. 4. §. 15. p. 21. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 601, &c. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 313, &c. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 5. p. 297, which compare with p. 242. and the notes; from which it will be seen that Stillingfleet differed from Lloyd.

[t] Gild. ibid. p. 1007. inter Orthodoxographa, ibid. Histor. Gild. §. 14. p. 5. §. 18. p. 24.

[u] Atlas Scotiæ, p. 4. and in maps after pp. 9. 75. 95. in Geograph. Blavian. vol. 6; but there is no map after p. 95. See Nicolson's Scottish Historical Library, part 2. ch. 1. p. 5.

[v] Atlas, ibid. pp. 41. 82.

[w] Camden. ibid. p. 700. vol. 3. p. 356. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 298. notes [i], [o].

[x] Camden. ibid. p. 43. vol. 1. p. xlvi.

[y] Herodian. Histor. l. 3. p. 526. 4. inter Sylburg. Roman. Histor. Scriptor. Græc. Minor. tom. 3. Et Joan. Xiphilin. Epitom. Dionis, l. 55. p. 214. 9. et 14. inter Sylburg. ibid. Camden. ibid. p. 111. vol. 1. p. cxxviii. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 2. p. 50.

[z] Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 96. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 51. ex Sexti Rufi Breviar. in Galliarum divisione. Stillingfleet ib. chap. 2. p. 76.

[a] Ammian. Marcell. ibid. l. 28. p. 369. 19. cap. 3. p. 406. See note [q], in last page.

[b] Camden. ibid. p. 44, &c. vol. 1. p. xlvi.

being much changed, the government of this island [c] was by a vicar or deputy under the præfectus prætorio of Gaul, as appears in the [d] Notitia of the empire.

§. 3. The [e] Picts, who had the rest of this island of Britain, inhabited in the north part of Scotland, which 6 from Graham's Dike before mentioned extended as far as the North Ocean. They were anciently called [f] Caledones, or Caledonians, that is, perhaps, Cilyddion, Borderers, in the British tongue; and were [g] not of a different language from the Britons, nor were called by any other name that we read of, till about 300 years after Christ. Then we find them [h] first called Picts, because [i] they still continued the old British use of painting their bodies: and yet they that lived next the Roman frontier were [k] still called Caledones, that is, Borderers; and were by that name distinguished from the other Picts. Who those other Picts were we learn from Ammianus, that writ about fourscore years after. For [l] he tells us, there were

[c] Zosim. Histor. lib. 2. p. 688. 23. inter Sylburg. ibid.

[d] Panciroll. Notitia, &c. p. 117. b. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 4. p. 215. Camden. ibid. pp. 44. 53. vol. 1. pp. xlvi. lvi. and notes.

[e] Preface, pp. xxxviii. xl.

[f] Tacit. Vit. Agric. cap. 25, &c. inter Oper. tom. 4. p. 92, &c.

[g] Vide Camden. ibid. p. 83. vol. 1. p. xci. Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 5. p. 240. compared with chap. 2. p. 51.

[h] Eumen. Paneg. ad Constant. p. 258. inter Paneg. Vet. Hen. Stephani 1591. et inter Paneg. Vet. tom. 1. p. 289. et not. Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 586. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 305.

[i] Claud. de III Cons. Honor. ver. 54. inter Oper. p. 97. p. 116. et not. ibid. calls them "nec falso nomine Pictos;" et vide Claudian. de Bello Getico, v. 418. inter Oper. p. 431. p. 458. et not. ibid. Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 595. cap. 17. p. 819. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 310. 427. Camden. ibid. pp. 83. 58. vol. 1. pp. xci. lxi. Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 5. p. 295. and note [o]. As to the word Picts, ibid. p. 240.

[k] Paneg. ad Constant. p. 235. inter Henr. Stephani, ibid. 1591. "Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum sylvas et paludes." Eumen. ib. inter Paneg. Vet. t. 1. p. 378. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 586. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 305. Stillingfleet ib. p. 241. and note [l].

[l] Ammian. Marcell. ibid. l. 27. p. 346. l. 30. cap. 8. p. 383. Stillingfleet ib. and note [n].

two nations of the Picts, which were called Dicaledones and Vecturiones, perhaps [m] Deucilyddion and Chwithwrion; that is, in British, the Southern Caledones, or Borderers, and the Northern men: no doubt the same that were afterwards called the South and
7 North Picts, which, as [n] Bede saith, "were separated from each other by a ledge of high and steep mountains," that lay between them. These mountains, I suppose, [o] were the same that were called Mons Grampius, by the ancients, and [p] are now called Grampian hills: among which hills [q] the country is called Braidalbin, that is, high Albion; and [r] the highest of them is called Drum-albin, that is, the back or ridge of [s] Albion, or Britain, which I mention as being perhaps the only remains of that most ancient name of this island.

§. 4. [t] Ireland the meanwhile was inhabited by the Scots, and from them was called Scotland by the writers that lived in those times. The [u] first writer

[m] 'Deu' and 'Chwith,' 'right' and 'left,' were anciently used for 'south' and 'north.' Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 80. Addend. p. 1021. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 43. 306. Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 5. p. 241.

[n] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 168. p. 106. Usser. de Primord. Addend. p. 1021. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 15. p. 306. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 241.

[o] Atlas Scotiæ, p. 76. in Geographia Blavian. vol. 6.

[p] Ibid.

[q] Ibid. p. 113. Camden. ibid. p. 707. vol. 3. p. 389.

[r] Atlas Scotiæ, ibid. Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 733. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 383. Camden. ibid. and Additions, p. 282. Stillingfleet ibid. Pref. p. lxviii. chap. 5. p. 242. Note on Bede, ibid. b. 3. ch. 4. p. 106. to the same purpose. Jamieson ibid. cap. 13. p. 294. note 1.

[s] Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. ibid. p. 723. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. ibid. p. 378. Camden. ibid. p. 17. vol. 1. p. xvii. See Stillingfleet ibid. Pref. p. xxxvii. and note.

[t] Preface, pp. xxv. &c. xxxviii. &c. Compare Stillingfleet ibid. Pref. pp. lix. lxvii. ch. 5. pp. 282. &c. 301. and notes. Mackenzie ibid. p. 151, &c. on this and the following sections to the conclusion of the chapter.

[u] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 586. cap. 17. p. 728. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 305. 380.

that mentioneth the name of Scots is Porphyry, in a book which seems to have been written about the year of Christ three hundred; for there (as it is quoted in [v] St. Jerome) he calleth Britain "a province fruitful of tyrants," referring chiefly, no doubt, to [w] those that set up then against Diocletian: and there he speaks of the Scottish nations apart, as not living in Britain at that 8 time. But that their dwelling then was in Ireland is affirmed by [x] Orosius, in his history, which was written in the year 417; his words are, "Ireland is inhabited by the nations of the Scots." With which agrees that of [y] Claudian, who wrote about twenty years before, that "[z] the Scots rose all over Ireland, and made the sea foam with their oars;" and again, "[a] that Ireland wept over the heaps of Scots that were slain." So [b] Prosper, within twenty years after Orosius, calls that in which the Scots lived, "the barbarous island," in contradistinction to Britain, which he calleth "the Roman island." Therefore Ireland is called Scotia by the

[v] Hieronymi Epist. ad Ctesiphon. Oper. tom. 2. p. 259. tom. 4. epist. 43. col. 780. Usser. ibid. cap. 16.

[w] Carausius, Allectus, Asclepiodotus.

[x] Pauli Orosii advers. Paganos Histor. lib. 1. cap. 2. de Europa, p. 28. Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 728. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 380. Stillingfleet ibid. Pref. pp. lix. lxvii. Camden. ibid. p. 86. vol. 1. p. xciv.

[y] Claudian. de Pr. Cons. Stilich. lib. 2. v. 251. inter Oper. p. 363. p. 393. et not. ibid. p. 875. "totam cum Scotus Iernen Movit, et infesto spumavit, remige Tethys."

[z] See Stillingfleet ibid. Pref. p. lix. which compare with sir Robert Sibbald on Thule, at the conclusion of Gibson's edition of Camden's Britannia.

[a] Claudian. de IV. Cons. Hon. ver. 33. inter Oper. p. 113. p. 131. et not. ibid. p. 177. "Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne." Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. pp. 579. 594. cap. 16. p. 728. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 301. 310. 380. Camden. ibid. Stillingfleet ibid. Pref. p. lix. chap. 5. p. 285.

[b] Prosper. cont. Collat. c. 41. inter Oper. tom. 1. p. 197. col. 1. speaking of pope Celestine, "Ordinato Scotis episcopo, dum Romanam insulam studet servare catholicam, fecit etiam barbaram Christianam." See ch. 2. §. 3. p. 51. Camden. ibid. p. 730. vol. 3. p. 466.

writers of those times; particularly by him that calleth himself [c] Hegesippus, who [d] was either St. Ambrose, or a writer of that age. So [e] Isidore, about the year 620, saith, "Scotia is the same with Hibernia." [f] Gildas, who writ in the year 564, calls the same people sometimes Scoti and sometimes Hiberni. [g] Cogitosus saith of Kildare in Ireland, that it was "the safest
9 place in all the land of the Scots." So [h] Adamnanus, about the year 680, calleth it "the isle of Scotland;" aud [i] saith of Columba, that "he sailed out of Scotland into Britain." So [k] Bede, in his history, which was writ about fifty years after, saith of the Scots, that "their country is Ireland," and sometimes calls it "the isle of Scotland," and hath the words Scotland and Ireland used promiscuously for the same in [l] several places: and king Alfred, [m] in his Saxon translation of Orosius, at the passage which I have mentioned, has these words, "Hibernia that we call Scotland:" and in his translation of Bede he calls it [n] sometimes

[c] Hegesip. de Bell. Judaic. v. 15. De Excid. Urb. Hierosolym. lib. 5. cap. 15. in Biblioth. Patrum, Bignæi, tom. 5. p.1189. col. 1. For this and the following notes, with little exception, vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 726. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 379.

[d] Gronov. Monobibl. p. 6.

[e] Isidor. Origin. xiv. 6. p.193. B. "Scotia eadem et Hibernia." Camden. ibid. p. 86. vol. 1. p. xciv. where also for other authorities.

[f] Gild. de Excid. Brit. lib. 1. p. 1006. inter Orthodoxographa. Hist. Gild. cap. 11—19. p. 4. §. 14—21. p. 21.

[g] Cogitosi Vita Brigidæ, c. 14. in Canisii Antiq. Lection. tom. 5. p. 641.

[h] Adamnani de Columba, lib. 1. cap. 19. "Insula Scotia," in Canisii ibid. tom. 5. p. 575. Messinghamii Florileg. Sanctor. Hiberniæ, lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 153.

[i] Ibid. lib. 1. cap. 1. Canisii ibid. p. 565. Messinghamii ibid. p.417. "de Scotia ad Britanniam enavigavit." So Epit. Bedæ an. 565. p. 489. p. 220. in Hist. Eccles.

[k] Bed. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 4. p. 118. p. 82.

[l] Ibid. lib. 2. cap. 4. and lib. 4. cap. 26. p. 345. p. 174.

[m] Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 731. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 382.

[n] Bed. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 5. p. 120. p. 506.

"Hibernia-Scotland," and [o] sometimes "Hibernia the Scots' island." Not to burden the reader with more quotations, I shall refer him to the most learned bishop Usher, who [p] at large proves this use of the word, and [q] thus concludes; "I do not believe that there is any writer, that lived within a thousand years after Christ, that once mentioned the name of Scotland, and doth not mean Ireland by it." How after that time the name of Scotland came to be used, as now it is, for the northern part of Britain, will be seen at the [r] end of this chapter.

§. 5. But first I am to shew the great change that has been made in the peopling of this island, and that especially in those times before the whole island was Christian. The only difficulty in this matter will be, to find at what time the Scots came first to settle in Britain. Our [s] Nennius saith, "the most skilful men among the Scots told him, that the founder of their nation, a Scythian that married Scota, king Pharaoh's daughter, was he that brought them first into Ireland; and that [t] they came to the countries of Dalried at the time when Brutus was consul of the Romans." But the Scottish historians within these three hundred years tell us another tale; that they came first into

[o] Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 177. lib. 4. cap. 26. p. 345. ed. Wheloc. pp. 529. 602. ed. Smith.

[p] Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 725, &c. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 379, &c.

[q] Usser. ibid. p. 734. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 383. speaking of the eleventh century, he saith, "neminem qui toto antecedentium annorum spatio scripserit, produci posse arbitramur, qui Scotiæ appellatione Albaniam unquam designaverit." See Stillingfleet ibid. c. 5. p. 282. note [c], &c.

[r] §. 13. p. 46.

[s] Nenn. cap. 9. p. 100. §. 15. p. 12. See Preface, p. xxxviii. and Usher therein referred to. Stillingfleet ibid. Pref. pp. viii. xxxiii. lxvi. c. 5. pp. 250. 252. &c. 269. 278. Mackenzie ibid. p. 49.

[t] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 612. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. p. 321.

Britain [u] at the time when Alexander the Great took Babylon, [v] that is, three hundred and thirty years before the coming of Christ. These fictions no man can pretend any ground for in ancient history. But that the
11 Scots dwelt in this island at least in the time of Julius Cæsar, this Buchanan maintains against Humphrey Lhuyd, "an excellent poet against an excellent antiquary," as [w] Camden well judgeth between them. I leave the reader to him for an account of their authorities: only one, that is the chief, I ought to take notice of, [x] because it proves that the Scots did not dwell here in Cæsar's time; and yet from the same place Buchanan proves they did, by construing it false, for which Camden ought to have given him correction. The words themselves I have put in the [x] margin; wherein [y] Buchanan saith that 'soli Britanni' is not the nominative case, but the genitive; and so he construes it thus, that before Cæsar's coming hither the Britons fought against the Scots and Picts of the British soil, that is, who then dwelt in the British soil; as he explains it. If this be so, the words are clear of his side; but being construed true, they are as plainly against him. For this is it that the orator drives at;

[u] Buchan. Rer. Scot. lib. 4. fol. 34. lin. 14. Oper. tom. 1. p. 54. See Preface, p. xl.

[v] Hect. Boethii Scot. Hist. lib. 1. fol. 7. lin. 8. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 612. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 321. Stillingfleet ibid. Pref. pp. xiv. xxii. xxxv.

[w] Camden. ibid. p. 89. in Scoti. vol. 1. p. xcvii. See Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 5. p. 286. note [d].

[x] Paneg. Maximian. A. p. 258. inter Paneg. Vet. H. Stephani, 1591. Paneg. Vet. tom. 1. p. 289. et not. "ad hoc natio etiam tunc rudis, et soli Britanni, Pictis modo et Hibernis assueta hostibus adhuc seminudis, facile Romanis armis signisque cesserunt." On this passage, see Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 586. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 305. Stillingfleet's Preface, p. lvii. and the reference there made. Mackenzie ibid. p. 70, &c.

[y] Buchan. Rer. Scot. lib. 2. fol. 25. lin. 38. Oper. tom. 1. p. 41.

comparing the victory of Constantius over Carausius 12
in Britain, with that which Cæsar formerly gained over the Britons, he would shew that this of Constantius was the greater action of the two: for, saith he, Cæsar had several advantages which Constantius had not; "moreover, the nation" (that Cæsar overcame) "being yet rude," unskilful of war, "and only Britons, a nation used to no other enemies but Picts and Irish, who were yet half naked, easily yielded to the Roman arms and ensigns; but he whom Constantius overcame, having got a Roman legion of his side, having stopped some squadrons of auxiliaries, having mustered the Gauls that were here on account of merchandise, having drawn in to his assistance no small forces of the barbarous nations, and having all these exercised and trained," it was no such easy thing to get the victory over him. I think it plain, by this comparison, that [z] 'soli Britanni' is not genitive, but [a] nominative; and if so, then the Irish here spoken of are not said to dwell in British soil, as Buchanan would have it. Indeed, to help the matter, he would have them called 13
Scots, because it sounds pretty well that the Scots lived in Britain; but the Irish—where should they dwell but in Ireland? It is scarce sense to say, 'the Irish of the British soil.' Buchanan was wise, the word Scots was more agreeable to his purpose. But,

[z] Cunningham, in his Versiculus, p. 26, agrees with Lloyd in giving the preference to Constantius over Cæsar, as to their respective victories. But he is of opinion, that if 'Britanni' is indeed the nominative case, the 'et' is unnecessary and inelegant; besides which, the word, in the same sentence, should have been 'assueti,' not 'assuetæ.' He adds, that the comma after 'Britanni' is not found in the edition of Paul Stephens, and others; and after some irrelevant matters, declares his dissent from Lloyd's conclusion.

[a] Stillingfleet ibid. Pref. p. lviii. and note, for the correct reading, which, in substance, confirms Lloyd's and Stillingfleet's reasoning on the passage.

as Camden observeth, the panegyrist is so far from saying the Scots were then in Britain, that he doth not say that yet they were come into Ireland: he only saith, there were Irish then in the world, and that they and the Picts were enemies to the Britons. And yet even that he did not speak like an historian, saith [b] Camden; but as orators use to speak of old things at the rate of their own times. But besides, admit they were Scots that he spoke of, he does not say, they lived in Britain, though the Picts did: he only saith, that both these nations were enemies to the Britons; the Picts indeed living in the same continent, made incursions upon them by land, which was an act of hostility; the Irish, who lived in another island, came
14 in their [c] curroghs, and robbed them by sea, which was no less an act of hostility. If the author had said, 'Scoti et Picti,' this had proved nothing; only it had not made against Buchanan's opinion, as most evidently it doth when the author saith, 'Hiberni et Picti:' he would have called them Scots rather than Irish, if he had thought of any other than Ireland for their country.

§. 6. But when did they first come hither into Britain? It is a question upon which much depends, and therefore I will endeavour to leave nothing unsaid that can be said to it out of the ancient writers.

[d] Bede saith they came over first under one Reuda, and settled themselves in that part of Britain which

[b] Camden. ibid. in Scoti. p. 89. vol. 1. p. xcvii.

[c] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 606. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 318. Stillingfleet ibid. p. lxi. chap. 5. p. 301.

[d] Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 23. p. 41. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. pp. 587. 611. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 306. 321. Camden. ibid. pp. 90. 706. vol. 1. p. xcviii. vol. 3. p. 383. Additions, p. 384. Stillingfleet ibid. Pref. pp. xxxix. lxvi. &c. chap. 5. pp. 242. 280. 284, &c. See Preface, p. xl.

from him is called Dalried, that is, 'the portion of Reuda.' But did not that country rather take its name from [e] Dalried in Ireland, now called [f] Routh, from whence the Scots came to plant themselves in Britain? There is nothing more common than this way of carrying the names of places and countries 15
along with the colonies they send forth. And it seems very probable that this Reuda (whom [g] late romancers call Reuther) might be that Ri Eda, or king Eda, [h] the first king of Dalried in Ireland, who left his name to that country, from whence it came over into Britain in after times. For Bede doth not bring any author for that which he saith of Reuda's bringing the Scots into Britain; and therefore I suppose he might take it up, as [i] he professes he did what he saith of the first planting of the Britons and Picts in that chapter, by hearsay, and no otherwise. And whereas for what he saith of any action out of books, he commonly expresses the time when it happened; here he hath no time for the coming of Reuda into Britain. Therefore archbishop Usher, admitting it to be true, and yet finding nothing of the person elsewhere, has made a guess at the time of his coming hither, from what is said of the Scots first coming into Britain. He finds in the Life of St. Patrick, that when Neil was king of 16
Ireland, (which was about the end of the reign of Constantius, the son of Constantine,) then the Scots began to infest the northern coast of Britain. He finds in Giraldus Cambrensis, that in the time of that Neil before mentioned, there came six sons of one Mured,

[e] See §. 8. p. 30.

[f] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. pp. 711. 611. Addend. 1029. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 372. 320.

[g] Hect. Boethii Scot. Hist. lib. 2. fol. 20. lin. 45.

[h] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 611. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 321. See §. 8, 9. p. 30, &c.

[i] Bed. ibid. p. 23. p. 41. 'ut fertur—ut perhibent.'—

out of Ulster, and planted themselves in the northern parts of Britain. "Here it is to be considered," [k] saith he, "whether the chief of these might not be Reuda:" elsewhere he [l] saith, "it seems that it was he."

About that time indeed we find the Scots being in Britain first mentioned by any of the Roman historians; but they speak of them not as coming then to plant here, but only as coming to help the Picts in their incursions, which they made together as often as the Romans gave them any opportunity. It was about the year 360, that, as [m] Ammianus saith, they and the Picts fell into "[n] such places next the Roman frontier as they had agreed upon among themselves," and there
17 they harassed the country of the Britons. Thus it seems they did for some years, till the country was even beggared "[o] by the conspiracy of those barbarous nations," and then Theodosius was sent against them; "who tamed the Picts," as [p] the panegyrist saith, "and hunted the Scots over the sea." So that, as he says elsewhere, [q] speaking of the same action, "Ireland lamented the heaps of the Scots that were slain."

[k] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 587. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. p. 306.

[l] Usser. de Primord. Index Chronolog. p. 1086. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 512. col. 1.

[m] Ammian. Marcellin. ibid. lib. 20. beginning. pag. 154. cap. 1. p. 181. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 587. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. p. 307. Camden. ibid. p. 55. vol. 1. p. lvii. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 5. p. 286, &c.

[n] Ammian. Marcellin. ibid. 'Condicta loca limitibus vicina.'

[o] Ibid. lib. 27. p. 346. 21. cap. 8. p. 383. Usser. ibid. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 287. Camden. ibid. and following pages, for the passages at length.

[p] Claudian. in III. Consul. Honor. ver. 55. inter Oper. p. 97. p. 116. et not. ibid. 'Pictos edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone secutus, Fregit hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.'

[q] Claud. in IV. Consul. Honor. ver. 33. inter Oper. p. 113. p. 131. et not. ibid. et p. 777. 'Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.' Stillingfleet ibid. p. lix. &c. ch. 5. p. 285. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. pp. 588. 570, &c. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 307. 301. For this and the preceding notes, Camden. ibid. pp. 57. 86. 729. vol. 1. pp. lix. xciv. vol. 3. p. 465. with the Additions, pp. 380. 727.

Soon after his return those two nations joined together again, and made another incursion, as [r] Prosper tells us; but then Maximus, who commanded here in Britain, being made emperor by the Roman army, overcame them; and, [s] as the Scottish historians tell us, the Picts joined with him, but the Scots he chased quite out of Britain.

This Maximus afterward, in pursuance of his hopes of the empire, gathered all the forces he could raise here in Britain, and carried them over into France, from whence very few of them did ever return. This was the fatal thing to which Gildas ascribes the de- 18
struction of his country. For, [t] saith he, "from that time forward Britain being deprived of all its armed men, its military forces, its commanders" such as they were, "and a vast number of men for service, which going away with that tyrant, never returned home any more, and being wholly to seek what should be done in time of war, came first to be trampled by two transmarine nations fiercely cruel, the Scots from the west, and the Picts from the north, under whom it is astonished, and groans for many years." Where Gildas calleth them 'transmarine nations,' Beda, [u] using the same expression after him, explains it by saying, we do not mean they lived out of Britain, but that they were

[r] Prosper Tyron. Chron. A. 4. Theod. Vide Prosper. Aquitan. Chron. in Labbe. nova Biblioth. tom. 1. p. 47. et inter Oper. tom. 1. p. 396. col. 1. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 287. b. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 593. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 309. Camden. ibid. p. 57. vol. 1. p. lx.

[s] Buchan. Rer. Scot. l. 4. fol. 44. lin. 47. Oper. tom. 1. p. 71. Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 591. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 309. See §. 8. p. 31.

[t] Gild. de Excid. Brit. p. 1006. inter Orthodoxographa. Hist. Gild. §. 11. p. 4. §. 14. p. 20. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 593. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 309. Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. lx. ch. 5. p. 242.

[u] Bedæ ibid. lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 52. p. 49, where compare Smith's note 32. with Stillingfleet, as below. Usser. ibid. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 5. p. 284.

separated from the Britons by the two friths of Edinburgh and Dunbarton. This was true in Bede's time, that not only the Picts, but a nation of the Scots lived in Britain. They had done so for some ages, and they might have lived there from Reuda's time, for aught
19[x] he knew. But as Bede takes Gildas aright in what he says concerning the Picts; so Gildas explains himself better concerning the Scots, by saying, in this place, that they came "from the west of Britain:" and afterwards, at their return, [y] he saith, "the Irish returned home." Where should their home be, but in Ireland?

From thence it was, that after Maximus's death, they came again to share with the Picts in their usual prey. Claudian, who lived at the time of this invasion, thus expresseth it in the place before mentioned; [z] "when the Scots rose all over Ireland, and the sea foamed with hostile oars." This incursion lay so hard upon the Britons, that being not able to bear it, they were fain to send to Rome for assistance. They had little reason to expect it from thence, having been in rebellion ever since Maximus's time. But yet upon their submission they had a legion sent them, and that by Stilicho, as [a] Claudian tells us. Which legion [b] drove out the

[x] §. 6. p. 14.

[y] Gild. ibid. p. 1008. inter Orthodoxographa. Hist. Gild. §. 19. p. 6. §. 21. p. 27. Usser. ibid. cap. 15. p. 608. cap. 16. p. 729. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 319. 381. Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. lx. ch. 5. p. 301. See §. 6. p. 23.

[z] Claud. in pr. Cons. Stilic. lib. 2. vers. 251. inter Oper. p. 363. p. 393. et not. ibid. et p. 875. — 'totam cum Scotus Iernen Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.' See in this chapter, §. 4. p. 8. note [y]. Stillingfleet ibid. p. lix. ch. 5. p. 286.

[a] Claudian. ibid. inter Oper. p. 363. p. 393, &c. 'Munivit Stilicho.' Camden. ibid. p. 58. vol. 1. p. lxi. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 594. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 310.

[b] Gild. ibid. p. 1006. inter Orthodoxographa. Hist. Gild. §. 12. p. 4. §. 15. p. 21. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 603. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 314.

enemy with a great slaughter, and particularly chased the Scots out of Britain, as we are told by [c] their ancientest historian. To make this a lasting benefit they caused the people, who then had no ruler, [d] saith Gildas, to build a wall of turf "across the island between the two seas." It is not to be doubted that they built it [e] between the two friths, in the place where it formerly stood before the incursion. The guards upon this wall were called their [f] 'prætenturæ,' whence the legion was said to be [g] 'prætenta Britannis.' This legion being called away [h] to help the emperor Honorius against the Goths, went from hence in great triumph, as [i] Gildas saith, reckoning that they had left the Britons secured against the barbarous nations.

But as soon as they were gone, the former enemies came in again "with sails and oars," saith [k] our author; that is, the Scots came again out of Ireland, as I understand him from [l] Marianus Scotus, who mentioneth only

Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 5. p. 295. Camden. ibid. p. 651. vol. 3. p. 213.

[c] Marian. Scotichron. A. D. 447. col. 347. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 608. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 319.

[d] Gild. ibid. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 601. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 313. Camden. ibid. Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, pp. lxii. lxviii.

[e] Bed. ib. lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 53. p. 50. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 602. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. p. 314. Camden. ibid. Buchanan. Rer. Scot. lib. 5. p. 46. l. 88. Oper. tom. 1. p. 74. Stillingfleet ibid.

[f] Ammian. Marcel. Hist. lib. 28. p. 369. 16. cap. 3. p. 406. In Gough's edition of Camden's Britannia, vol. 3. p. 211. note *, we are told; "The frontiers of provinces were called 'clusuræ,' from excluding the enemy; nd 'prætenturæ,' because præ tended, or drawn before the enemy." See Pithœus in Advers. 1. cap. 14.

[g] Claud. de Bell. Get. v. 416. inter Oper. p. 431. p. 458. et not. ibid.

[h] Claud. ibid.

[i] Gild. ibid. in Orthodox. Hist. Gild. §. 13. p. 5. §. 16. p. 22. Usser. ibid. as in notes [d] and [e]. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 5. p. 295.

[k] Gild. ib. so Bed. ib. l. 1. c. 12. p. 53. p. 50, 'advecti navibus.' Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 603. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 314. Camden. ibid. p. 652. vol. 3. p. 213.

[l] Mar. Scot. Chron. ibid. col. 347. 'Scoti advecti navibus.'

the Scots in this second invasion after the death of Maximus the usurper. "They broke the frontier," saith [m] Gildas, and destroyed all that came in their
21 way. The Britons being utterly unable to defend themselves, sent again to beg help of the Romans. They sent them a legion, as before; who coming unexpectedly on their enemies, made a great slaughter of them, and [n] "drove all that could escape over the seas," who before that "used yearly to carry away their prey over the seas without resistance:" this again [o] Marianus applieth to the Scots, as being alone in this action.

The Romans having thus rescued the Britons, declared to them that they could not often endure the fatigue of such journeys; nor did they think it worth the while to employ the Roman ensigns against such [p] "poor pilfering robbers:" they would have them take the courage to defend themselves against nations that were not stronger than they, if it were not for their laziness and cowardice. And that they might the more easily do this, they not only furnished them with arms, and taught them the art of war, but they took care to fortify their country against any invasion: par-
22 ticularly, instead of their wall of turf before mentioned, they made another of stone, which [q] "they built in a straight line from sea to sea between the cities which had been placed there before for fear of the enemies;"

[m] Gild. ibid. Usser. ibid. Camden. ibid.

[n] Gild. ibid. p. 1007. inter Orthodox. §. 14. p. 5. §. 17. p. 22. Bed. ibid. p. 53. p. 50. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 604. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 315. Camden. ibid. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 297, &c.

[o] Mar. Scot. ibid. col. 347. 'Romani recurrunt, et Scotos fugant.'

[p] Gild. ibid. in Orthodox. §. 14. p. 5. §. 18. p. 23. 'imbelles erraticosque latrunculos.' Usser. ibid. Stillingfleet ibid.

[q] Gild. ibid. inter Orthodox. ibid. §. 14. p. 5. §. 18. p. 24. 'tramite a mari usque ad mare inter urbes directo librant'— Camden. ibid. pp. 60. 652. vol. 1. p. lxiii. vol. 3. p. 213. Bed. ib. lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 52. p. 50.

that is, between [r] Guidi, near Edinburgh, and Alcluith, which is now called Dunbarton. This I observe, to shew that still the same [s] bounds were continued between the Picts and the Britons; beside, on the shore of the ocean toward the south side [of Dunbarton frith] where their ships lay, because the barbarian wild beasts were feared to come that way, they placed towers at set distances within view of the sea; and having done this, they took leave, as being never to return more. But [t] "no sooner were they gone, but there came by shoals out of the curroghs in which they were carried over the Scythian vale, ... grim troops of Scots and Picts, partly different in manners, but alike eager for blood, and that had more shaggy hair to cover their faces, than they had clothes over the secret parts of their bodies." These upon the assurance they had 23 that the Romans were gone, and would not return, being now more bold than ever, [u] "took possession of all the north and outmost part of the land instead of the natives as far as the wall before mentioned." And the [x] guards, that were placed there on the towers, making no resistance, they from below with long hooks plucked them down, and dashed them against the ground. Thus the wall being cleared, and the cities forsaken, the enemy had the country open to them; and made such slaughter and spoil there, that the

[r] Ibid. p. 52. p. 50. et not. 1. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. pp. 604. 602. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 315. 314. Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. lxii. ch. 5. p. 298, &c. Camden. ibid. p. 700. vol. 3. p. 355. See p. 4. note [s].

[s] §. 2. p. 3.

[t] Gild. ibid. inter Orthodoxographa, §. 15. p. 5. §. 19. p. 24. Bed. ibid. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 606. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 318. Camden. pp. 77. 653. vol. 1. p. lxxxv. vol. 3. p. 214. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 301. See p. 14.

[u] Gild. et Bed. ibid. Usser. ibid. Camden. ibid. Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. lxiii. ch. 5. p. 242.

[x] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 607. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 318. Camden. ibid. Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. lxiii.

country seemed like to a wilderness. The Britons that escaped sent over to [y] Aetius the Roman general for help, but none came. [z] The mean while through the spoil that had been made, there came to be a famine in the land, which made them desperate. Then they fought for themselves; and those that skulked in the mountains and caves, and thick woods being joined with them, they drove the enemy out of the country. "Those
24 impudent robbers, the Irish, went home," [a] saith Gildas, "not to return a long while after: the Picts, in the utmost parts of the isle, rested then first, and so they did for the future; only making inroads and spoil between whiles." This turn of things is placed by Gildas and Bede, in the year when Aetius was in his third consulship; that is, in the year of our Lord 446. Which is a sufficient proof, that as yet the Scots did not inhabit in this island: nor did the Picts in any place on this side of the wall before mentioned, nor it seems very near it. Thus much is plainly expressed in those words, that the Scots (here called Irish) "returned home;" that is, went out of the isle: the Picts stayed in the isle, but it was in the utmost parts of it, beyond the

[y] Camden. ibid. p. 77. vol. 1. p. lxxxv. Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 369. cap. 15. p. 608. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 198. 319. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 300.

[z] Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 371. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 199. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 300. Camden. ibid.

[a] Gild. ibid. p. 1008. inter Orthodox. §. 19. p. 6. §. 21. p. 26. 'Revertuntur ergo impudentes grassatores Hiberni domum, (non longo post tempore reversuri.) Picti, in extrema parte insulæ, tunc primum et deinceps, requieverunt; [prædas et contritiones nonnunquam facientes.]' Bed. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 14. p. 56. p. 51. hath all the same words, except those within the hooks; where he saith of the Scots, 'post non longum tempus reversuri,' and of the Picts, 'prædas tamen nonnunquam exinde et contritiones de Britonum gente agere non cessarunt.' Camden. ibid. p. 77. vol. 1. p. lxxxvi. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 608. cap. xvi. p. 729. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 319. 381. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 301. See §. 6. p. 19.

Britons in the [b] former quotation; and there, though they had not been at rest for many ages, yet now they rested, say our authors; it was indeed the first time that they rested, and though they robbed between whiles, yet they made no invasion for the future.

§. 7. How the state of things in this island was 25
changed afterward, [c] Gildas proceeds to shew in the historical part of his work. He saith, that the Britons being rid of their enemies, soon after the famine ceased, and there came such a plenty in the stead, that the like was never known in any age. But this fulness made them forget God, and fall deeper into those sins from which he would have reclaimed them by his punishments. A people that profited so little by his rod, God might forthwith have given up as incorrigible: but yet he was pleased to try them once more. There went a flying rumour among the people, that their old enemies were coming again, with a full resolution to destroy them, and to inhabit their country. This every one believed, though there was no ground for it. But (as [d] Solomon saith) "one of a servile disposition is not to be mended with words, yea a fool is scourged and doth not feel it." There was such a plague among them, that killed more than the living could bury; and yet they were altogether insensible. They did as good 26
as say with those in the prophet, [e] "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." Being thus ripe for destruction, God was pleased to let them bring it upon

[b] P. 23.

[c] Gild. ibid. p. 1008. inter Orthodox. §. 19–21. p. 6. §. 21, 22. pp. 27–29. Usser. de Primord. ibid. et cap. 12. pp. 373. 387. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 200. 207. Camden. ibid. p. 77. vol. 1. p. lxxxvi.

[d] Prov. xxix. 19, according to the Septuagint. Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 387. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 207. Camden. ibid.

[e] Isai. xxii. 13. Usser. ibid. Camden. ibid.

themselves by a strange [f] infatuation. They were in fear of two nations, that were always too weak for them, and that had found themselves so in their [g] last invasion, and were therefore the less likely to trouble them again; besides that a great part of those nations was lately turned [h] Christian. But howsoever, to secure themselves against them, they took a worse enemy into their bosom. The [i] Saxons that lived upon the next German shore, were a warlike people, that always kept the Romans upon their guard, and had sometimes attacked them in this island; they were also enemies of the Christian religion. Yet of these, they brought over some troops, [k] about the year of Christ 450, and gave them the [l] Isle of Thanet for an habitation. It was a quarter too far from those parts which they were
27 to defend; but it lay convenient enough for them to bring in more company; [m] which they did, till they had made themselves too strong for the Britons. And then they made them see their folly, when there was no remedy. Upon a made quarrel, for want of [n] pay and provisions, they made war upon them in a most barbarous manner, (which Gildas as tragically describes,) and having slaughtered a great part of them, drove the rest out of the best of their country. But first, as [o] Bede saith, they had driven back the Picts, and after-

[f] Usser. de Primord. cap. 11. p. 336. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 181. Camden. ibid. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 318, compared with p. 304.

[g] §. 6. p. 23.

[h] Chap. 2. §. 2–6. pp. 50–62.

[i] Usser. ibid. Camden. ibid. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 5. p. 304.

[k] Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 15. p. 57. p. 52. Epit. Bed. an. 409. ibid. It should be 449. So the Saxon Chron. Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 405. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 218. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 316, &c.

[l] Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 409. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 221. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 313.

[m] Usser. de Primord. p. 410. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. ibid. Camden. ibid. p. 78. vol. 1. p. lxxxvi.

[n] Stillingfleet ibid. p. 320. Camden. ibid. Usser. ibid.

[o] Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 15. p. 58. p. 52. Usser. ibid. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 321.

ward made a league with them: which doth not seem very probable, because there is nothing of it in Gildas. Sure enough they did not give them any share of their conquest. For as the two friths divided the Picts [p] anciently from the Britons, so they did afterward from them and the Saxons. We find that their bounds were the same when Bede writ his history, which was [q] in the year 731. For [r] then, he tells us, Edinburgh frith lay between the Saxons and the Picts; and [s] he saith that at the other frith [t] the Britons yet held the strong 28
city Alcluith, which from them was called Dunbritton, (Dunbarton) that is, the hill of the Britons.

§. 8. It was not long after the Saxons came over, that the Scots, who upon that repulse [u] before mentioned were gone home (that is into Ireland) as [x] Gildas tells us, returned into Britain. This return was, to settle themselves in the country; for there Gildas leaves them; so that no doubt they were there in his age. And therefore the time of their coming to settle in Britain was between the year 450, when the Saxons came hither, and the year 564, when [y] Gildas wrote.

To find the precise time of their coming, we must not look for any help from the Scottish historians that have written within these three hundred years. For they generally take it for granted, [z] (as I have shewn) that their coming into this island was long before Christ's incarnation: and upon this presumption they

[p] §. 2. p. 3.

[q] Bed. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 485. cap. 23. p. 219.

[r] Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 26. p. 346. p. 174.

[s] Ibid. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 24. p. 42. On some of these passages of Bede, see Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. pp. 612. 710. cap. 17. p. 819. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 321. 371. 427. Camden. ibid. pp. 697. 706. vol. 3. pp. 349. 383.

[t] Camden. ibid. vol. 3. p. 353. in the Additions, to the contrary.

[u] §. 7. p. 24.

[x] Gild. ibid. p. 1008. inter Orthodox. See note [a] p. 24

[y] Preface, p. x. and note.

[z] §. 5. p. 10. and notes.

frame a long series of story, for which they have no ground in any ancient writer now extant.

29 But that before that time there was a different tradition among themselves, it appears by those rhymes which are quoted by [a] archbishop Usher out of the Scoti-chronicon: wherein it is said that "the Scots' first coming into Argyle" was in the year 439. It is not improbable that their first coming to settle there might be in that year, by agreement with the Picts to share Britain between them, upon the information they had that it was abandoned by the Romans. But before they had been long in possession, they found their measures would not hold, and therefore they returned home into Ireland, some years after the year 439, as [b] I have shewn from our ancientest writers. That their settling here was after that time, we have some reason to judge from their [c] conversion to the Christian religion; which, according to all the ancients, was before their coming into Britain. For, except those legendary writers, which [d] (as I have shewn elsewhere) ascribe it

30 to them that brought the relics of St. Andrew, there is none but makes [e] St. Patrick the apostle of the Scottish nation. But what he did for their conversion was in Ireland; and that before the time of their coming hither, if we may believe what we are told [f] in his Life. For there it is said, that upon the death of a king of Dalried, Fergus, the youngest of his sons, being like to

[a] Usser. de Primord. Addend. p. 1023. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 15. p. 312. 'Bis bis centeno, quater et deca, sed minus uno, Anno quo sumsit primos Argadia Scotos, Ut referunt isti, fuit incarnatio Christi.'

[b] §. 7. pp. 24. 26. and references there.

[c] Chap. 4. §. 2. p. 84, &c. compared with Preface, p. xli. &c.

[d] Vid. Preface, p. xlii. &c.

[e] Chap. 2. §. 2. p. 61, &c.

[f] Jocelin. Vit. S. Patr. c. 137. p. 61. col. 1. inter Messingham. Florileg. Sanct. Hibern. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 609. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 319. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 281. Camden. ibid. p. 772. vol. 3. p. 640.

have no share of his estate, came and made his complaint to St. Patrick; who not only got him considered in the distribution, but prophetically told him, "As mean as thou seemest to be now among thy brethren, thou shalt shortly be the chief man among them; and out of thee shall come kings that shall rule, not only in their own, but in a remote and foreign country." It was not long after, saith the author, that this Fergus came to be king of Dalried, and his seed reigned there after him for many generations. This king, as [g] bishop Usher observeth, was that Fergus, the son of Erc, who first planted the Scots in this island. The late [h] Scottish historians, that make them to have been ancient inha- 31
bitants, and say they were driven out by [i] Maximus that killed their king Eugenius in battle, will have them restored by this Fergus, who (they say) was grandchild to king Eugenius, about the year 422, that is, as they account, in the forty-fourth or forty-fifth year after their disseisin. Enough hath been said, in this and [k] the former sections, to refute that pretence of an ancient possession. But that Fergus, the son of Erc, was the first of his race that reigned in Scotland, is proved by [l] bishop Usher from an elder Scottish writer that lived about five hundred years since; with whom agree the ancient Irish genealogies, as he tells us. And that the beginning of his reign in this island was much later than the year that Hector mentioneth; namely, that it was "in the time of pope Symmachus," which began in

[g] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 610. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 320. Camden. ibid. p. 707. vol. 3. p. 389. Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. xlii. ch. 5. p. 279, &c.

[h] Hect. Boeth. Scot. Hist. lib. 6. fol. 114. l. 56. lib. 7. fol. 120. l. 80.

[i] §. 6. p. 17. Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 610. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 320.

[k] §. 5, 6, 7. pp. 10–28.

[l] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 610. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 320.

the year 498, and that it was twenty years after the battle of Oche, which was fought in the year 483. So that his kingdom in Britain was erected in the year 503, this [m] the same great antiquary proves out of the old
32 Irish writers, which herein agree perfectly well among themselves, and are very consistent with all the other testimonies above mentioned.

§. 9. Being thus assured of the time when the Scots were first seated in Britain; it may be next worth our inquiry to know, 1. what countries they were possessed of at first; and, 2. how afterwards they enlarged their quarters; till, 3, at last they gave the name to so great a part of the island.

1. Where the Scots first planted in Britain. If we had no account of the place, we should look for it somewhere near their own country. And there is a part of Britain so near it, that [n] the sea is not above sixteen miles over between the two islands. The next part of Ireland is that Routh [o] before mentioned; which was anciently called 'Dalrieda,' i. e. [p] 'the part' or portion 'of Ri Eda,' or king Eda, if there were any such person. But we are told by [q] archbishop Usher, from the old Irish genealogists, that there was such a person, son of
33 Chonar, king of Ireland; and that his father gave him the dominion of this country, which descended from

[m] Usser. de Primord. Addend. pp. 1028. 1112. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 15. pp. 320. Index Chronol. 524. col. 2. Stillingfleet ibid. p. xliii. ch. 5. p. 280, &c., which compare with Mackenzie's Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal Line, p. 2, and the Letter prefixed, p. 6.

[n] Hect. Boeth. Scot. descr. fol. 8. lin. 10. See Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. lxi. Camden. ibid. p. 706. vol. 3. p. 386.

[o] §. 6. p. 14, and note [d] for the places quoted in Stillingfleet.

[p] Buchan. Rer. Scot. lib. 4. fol. 35. lin. 34. Oper. tom. 1. p. 56. See p. 15. §. 6. and note [h].

[q] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 611. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p 320. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 5. p. 280, and note [s], and Camden, as there quoted in note [r]. See in this chapter, p. 30. note [g], &c.

him to Fergus, being one of his lineage. That from hence Fergus brought his Scots into Britain, we are told by [r] archbishop Usher, from old Irish annals that were written [s] before the year 1100; these are the words, "Fergus Mor Mac Erc, with the nation of Dalried, held part of Britain, and there died." Whereas these Scots are there called 'the nation of Dalried,' it seems to me to interpret those words of [t] Bede, where he saith of them in Britain, "they are called Dalreudini to this day:" it seems they brought over their name with them, and gave it to their country in Britain, from which Bede, by [u] mistake, thought that they had received it. But that there, as well as in Ireland, their country had the name of 'Dalried,' we find in the quotation of [x] Nennius before mentioned: and we find in the lord Burleigh's manuscript, which Camden often quotes as a very ancient piece, that it was called [y] "the kingdom of Dalried;" which I take to be the same that is called 34 "the kingdom of Argyle" [z] elsewhere in the same manuscript. That this was their seat, it further appears, from the bounds that are given to their country in Britain; both in the time of king Fergus, and afterwards, for some hundreds of years. For [a] Camden tells us from his manuscript, that the bounds of king Fergus's kingdom were "from [b] Brun-Albin to the sea of

[r] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 610. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 320. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 280, from Tigernac's Annals.

[s] War. de Script. Hibern. lib. 1. cap. 7. p. 51.

[t] Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 24. p. 41. See §. 6. p. 14. note [d].

[u] §. 6. p. 14. and notes [d], [f].

[x] §. 5. p. 10. and note [s].

[y] Camden. Brit. p. 706. vol. 3. p. 383. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 611. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 321. See Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. xxxix. ch. 5. p. 280.

[z] Camden. Brit. p. 682. in div. Scot. vol. 3. p. 284. Usser. ibid.

[a] Camden. Brit. p. 707. vol. 3. p. 389. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 611. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 320. See Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. xliii. ch. 5. p. 280.

[b] Usser. de Primord. p. 612. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 321, and as in last note.

Ireland, and the Hebrides:" and we find in [c] Adamnanus, that beyond Drum-Albin was the kingdom of the North Picts; and [d] that the river Ness was within the bounds of their kingdom: and in a work of his which is not published [e] he saith, that the mountains of Drum-Albin were between the Scots and the Picts. Which being compared with what hath been said before, that [f] in Bede's time those mountains divided the North Picts from the South Picts; and again that [g] in his time the Scots dwelt northwards of Dunbarton frith, by which they were separated from the Britons, who
35 then lived south of the frith, and who had the city of Dunbarton in their possession: these things taken together make it plain that the kingdom of [h] Argyle, or Dalried, which was all that the Scots had in Britain, was divided northward by Lochaber hills from the North Picts, eastward by Lomond hills from the South Picts, southward by Dunbarton frith from the Britons, and westward it was bounded with the Irish sea. So that, as [i] archbishop Usher well gathers, it contained all those countries that are now called Cantire, Knapdale, Lorne, Argyle, and Braid-Albin, with the neighbouring isles. What he saith of the isles must not be extended too far: for [k] Bede saith the isle of Hy, which was one of the nearest to Dalried, belonged to the North Picts;

[c] Adamnan. de Columb. lib. 2. cap. 28. in Canis. ibid. p. 599. Messingham. ibid. c. 17. p. 168.

[d] Ibid. cap. 18. Canis. ibid. p. 592. Messingham. ibid. cap. 12. p. 164.

[e] Usser. de Primord. Addend. p. 1022. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 15. p. 306.

[f] §. 3. p. 6, from Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 168. p. 106.

[g] Bed. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 24. p. 42. See note [n] in p. 6, as above.

[h] Mackenzie ibid. p. 60.

[i] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 612. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 321.

[k] Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 167. p. 106. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 703. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 367.

and [l] was by their king Bridius given to Columba for his monastery. But that all the rest that he mentioneth belonged to the Scots, I am confirmed, by that first division of Scotland that [m] Camden gives us out of his manuscript, which is only the kingdom of the Picts, containing 36
all beyond the two friths, except those five countries. And by what followeth there, in the second division, where the kingdom of Argyle is added by itself, it appears that this was all that the Scots had in Britain, till their conquest of the Picts, which we are next to consider.

§. 10. I do not know that any ancient writer hath mentioned the occasion of the Scots' coming to live in this island. But I find that which may afford us some ground for a probable conjecture at the reason of their coming. For [n] we are told, that when the Saxons had begun with the Britons, and had made some progress in conquering the southern part of this island, there came out of Germany a fresh party of them, in forty keels (which was then a very great fleet) [o] over Edinburgh frith, and "possessed themselves of divers countries in this island, [p] as far as the confines of the Picts;" that is, as I understand him, they conquered those parts from the Forth to the Tyne, which were afterwards called the kingdom of Bernicia; and there began the 37
dominion of the Northumbrian Saxons. This could not but give the Picts a very great apprehension of

[l] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 169. p. 106. Stillingfleet ib. Pref. p. xlii. to the contrary.

[m] Camden. Brit. p. 682. vol. 3. p. 284. See note [z], p. 34.

[n] Nennii ibid. cap. 36. Cambridge MS. c. 38. c. 37. p. 107. §. 38. p. 29. and note 18. Vide Usser. de Primord. Index Chronolog. p. 1108. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 519. col. 2.

[o] Nenn. ibid. 'trans mare Fresicum,' thus interpreted in Camden, Brit. p. 688. vol. 3. p. 303. Usser. de Primord. pag. om. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 12. p. 213.

[p] Nenn. ibid. 'usque ad confinia Pictorum.' Usser. ibid. Camden. ibid. p. 91. vol. 1. p. c.

danger; and there was little hope of assistance from the Britons, from whom the Saxons had conquered those countries. Therefore, I conjecture, they invited over that colony of the Scots, being a people with whom they had been in league for many ages, and had then received so many proofs of their courage and friendship. I the rather believe this, because I do not find in ancient writers that there was any breach between the two nations, as there must have been if the Scots had come by force into their country. And yet, the Saxons being wiser than to make too many enemies at once, it doth not appear that these Scots had any occasion to shew their valour, till king Ædan's time. Then [q] in the year 603, (which I reckon to have been just a hundred years after their coming into Britain,) that
38 prince, having a jealousy of Æthelfrid king of the Northumbrian Saxons growing too great for him, began a war; which was soon determined in one battle, with the loss of his whole army. And "from that time" (saith [r] Bede, who writ above a hundred and twenty years after) "there hath not been any king of the Scots that hath ventured to come into Britain to fight against the nation of the English Saxons to this day." To make this the more remarkable, saith [s] Bede, toward the end of his history, "the Scots that dwell in Britain are content with their own quarters, and do not carry on plots or designs against the nation of the English." Others [t] that lived eight or nine hundred years later, have told

[q] Bedæ ibid. lib. 1. cap. 34. p. 103. p. 74. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 710. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. p. 371. See the Sax. Chronicle, p. 28. and Appendix, p. 376, Ingram's edition, where it is said the son of Heringhuse led the Scots' army. Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. lxix.

[r] Bedæ ibid. p. 104. p. 74. Usser. ibid. Camden. ibid. p. 90. vol. 1. p. xcix.

[s] Bedæ ibid. lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 484. cap. 23. p. 219. Usser. ibid. where also for Fordon. ib. lib. 3. cap. 31. as opposed to Bede. See the next note.

[t] Hect. Boeth. Rer. Scot. fol.

us of great wars and victories that they had within that space of time. But I should rather believe Bede, who lived then, and had spent all his time in their neighbourhood.

It seems the Scots were 'content with their quarters' for near so much longer time after Bede had done writing. For in a hundred years more we find no change in the peopling of this island, save what the Saxons made in going on with their conquest upon the 39
Britons. They had in [u] Bede's time driven them out of the country of Galloway; and taken from them Candida Casa, or Whitherne, which was their episcopal see, and filled it with Saxon bishops, (of whom our most learned [x] Usher hath gathered a succession till after the year 800.) After Bede's death, in the year 750, they drove the Britons out of Kyle, and the other countries thereabout; and "added them to the kingdom of Northumbria," as [y] we are told by a writer of that age. And [z] about six years after they took the city of Alcluid, or Dunbarton; which perfected their conquest of the Western Lowlands, as they are now called. There yet remained another part of those that were called [a] the 'Stræcled-Wealas,' that is, as I guess,

176. 24. and 184. 50. and 185. 20. Buchanan. Rer. Scot. cap. 5. fol. 54. 80. and 55. 88. and 56. 1. Oper. tom. 1. p. 86.

[u] Bedæ ibid. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 169. p. 106. Vide Usser. ib. as in note [x]. Camden. ibid. p. 693. vol. 3. p. 330.

[x] Usser. de Primord. p. 666. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. p. 349, where Major is opposed to Dempster.

[y] Epit. Bedæ continuat. ibid. ann. 750. p. 491. p. 224. Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 819. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 427.

[z] Sim. Dunelm. Hist. Reg. Angl. col. 105. 24. inter Decem Script. ibid. tom. 1. Hoveden. Annal. p. 402. 42. inter Rer. Anglic. Script. post Bed. Usser. ibid. as to Hoveden.

[a] Sax. Chron. ann. 875. and 924. pp. 535. 555. post Bedæ Hist. Eccles. a Wheloc. p. 102. Ingram's edit. p. 139. Compare Asser. Vita Ælfrid. p. 8. 40. and Flor. Wigorn. Chron. ann. 875. p. 589. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 719. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 375.

the [b] 'Clydesdale Welsh' rather than 'the painted Britons,' as Wheloc rendereth it. These seem to have had their chief seat at Glasgow, from whence their country extended to the south, toward [c] Cumbria, which was
40 another petty kingdom of the Britons; and that reached as far as [d] the cross upon Stanmore in Westmoreland. [e] How they sped afterward, it shall be shewn in due time: but at present, they seem to have escaped by the dissensions that were among their enemies; which dissensions afterward rose to that height, that in the year 794, [f] Ethelred king of the Northumbrians was killed by his own people, their bishops fled out of the country, and the whole frame of their government was dissolved: so that [g] "for three and thirty years they were a prey and a sport to all their neighbours," and they could never unite themselves more into one body or nation.

§. 11. The mean while, about the year of Christ 800, the Danes began to make their inroads into these islands. Wheresoever they came at first, being heathens, they filled all places with blood, and left nothing but desolation behind them. But afterward they turned Christians, and then they contented themselves with the spoils and servitude of those nations which they over-
41 came. Thus they were coming and going for more than two hundred years: in which time all the nations of these islands had their turns to receive the cup of God's

[b] Strath was a dale by a river; as, Strath Ern, Strath Navern, &c. See also §. 13. p. 47.

[c] Camden. ibid. pp. 630. 639. 648. vol. 3. pp. 169. 173. 177. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 664. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 348. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 5. pp. 345. 355, and note.

[d] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 581. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 303. Camden. ibid. p. 595. vol. 3. p. 26. Additions, p. 96.

[e] §. 12. p. 44.

[f] Flor. Wigorn. Chron. ann. 794. p. 577.

[g] Gul. Malm. de Gestis Reg. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 13. b. lin. 54. p. 26. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 667. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 350, where for the Picts' and Scots' conquests.

wrath out of their hands. None tasted of it more favourably than the Picts; and yet, if it be true which [h]John of Fordon tells us, it was through their means that the Picts became a conquered people. He saith, that while they endeavoured to guard their coasts against those cruel barbarians, and lost a great part of their military men in that service, it so distracted and weakened them, that they were not able to defend themselves, but became an easy prey to a much weaker enemy. Alpin, the son of Achaius, king of the Scots, (as [i] their historians tell us,) being next heir by his mother, who was sister to Hungus, late king of the Picts, had been slain in asserting his title to that kingdom against one Brudus that held it from him by usurpation. His son and successor Kennedy went on with the quarrel: and (as [k] Fordon saith) "passed over the mountains that were in their confines," namely Drum-42
Albin, while the Picts were in that weakness and distraction. Having that advantage against them, [l] "he killed many of the Picts, and put the rest to flight," and so "gained the monarchy of both the kingdoms." This was about the year 850, that is, near one hundred and twenty years after Bede's time: so that till then the Scots were still 'content with their quarters;' and Fordon sheweth it, in that they were got no further than Drum-Albin at that time.

But we have better than his authority to prove this, or else I should not be very confident of it. He quotes an ancient [m] verse, that saith this Kennedy was the

[h] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 716. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 374. ex Scotichronico.

[i] Buchanan. Rer. Scot. lib. 5. fol. 57. lin. 51. 85. fol. 58. lin. 12. 28. 43, &c. Oper. tom. 1. p. 89.

[k] Usser. ibid. ex Scotichron.

[l] Usser. ibid. Mackenzie ibid. p. 149. See Gunn's note to his edition of Nennius, p. 115.

[m] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 715. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. p. 373. 'Primus in Albania fertur regnasse Kenedus.'

first that reigned in Albania, meaning, I suppose, on the north and east sides of Drum-Albin. For so, in the old manuscript quoted by [n] Camden, it is said, that "the kings of the seed of Fergus reigned in Drum-Albin till Alpin," who was the last king that went no further. And it is said [o] in the same manuscript, that "Kennedy held the kingdom of Dalried two years, be-
43 fore he came into the Picts' country." But [p] I shewed that Dalried extended no further than from Drum-Albin to Dunbarton frith and the Irish sea; and here we see that the Scots had still the same bounds, till upon this new conquest the Picts were incorporated with them into one nation.

§. 12. Now the [q] Scots had all the north part of this island beyond Graham's dike; that is, they had all that was contained in [r] the second division of Scotland; and yet [s] their kingdom was not called Scotland in any writing that is extant, of that age. Before it came to that, it had (as I am now to shew) all the other parts added to it that are known by that name. First, the Saxons' kingdom of Northumbria being [t] broken in pieces, [u] it is said that all that part of it which we call the Western Lowlands, being so far severed from the rest that it could have no help out of England, was either seized by the Irish, or put itself under their protection; from whom Whitherne, the bishop's see, and

[n] Camden. Brit. p. 707. vol. 3. p. 389. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 610. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 320.

[o] Camden. Brit. p. 706. vol. 3. p. 383. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 611. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 321.

[p] §. 9. p. 35.

[q] Mackenzie ibid. p. 60, notices this and the following section.

[r] Camden. Brit. p. 682. vol. 3. p. 284. Usser. ibid.

[s] §. 4. p. 9, and notes there.

[t] §. 10. p. 40.

[u] Camden. Brit. p. 692. vol. 3. p. 330. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 667. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 350. Concerning the kingdom of Northumbria, and its disputed limits, ibid. de Primord. Addend. p. 1003, &c. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. ch. 12. p. 212, &c.

the country about it, were called by the name of 'Galloway,' in Latin [x] 'Gallovidia' or 'Gallovedia;' that is, 44
[y] 'Gallwaith' or 'Gallwade,' the 'work' or the 'walk' of the 'Gael,' as the Irish call themselves. But from them, being no military people, it was no hard matter for the Scots to get it into their possession, as we are certain they did after the year 850, though we have no account of the time, or any other particulars. [z] Next, for what was left to the Britons, which was all comprehended under the name of Cumbria, we read ([a] that Edmund, king of the English Saxons, having conquered it, in the year 945, gave it to Malcolm king of the Scots, on condition that he should fight for him by land and by sea; that is, that he should help and defend the north parts of England against the Danes, as it is [b] elsewhere explained. And we read that after his death the next year the Scots did homage for it to Edred his son and successor. How the county of Cumberland was afterward changed for that of Huntingdon, the reader may see in [c] Camden, but that doth not belong to my purpose. In the year 960, Edinburgh was delivered up 45
by the English to Indulph king of the Scots, and hath ever since remained in their possession, as [d] Camden

[x] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. pp. 612. 667. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 321. 349.

[y] As the Picts wall was called 'Scots-waith,' and the Forth called 'Scots-wade.' Camden. Brit. pp. 649. 682. vol. 3. p. 211. 284. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. pp. 580. 606. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 302. 316.

[z] See §. 10. p. 39.

[a] Sax. Chron. p. 558. post Bed. Hist. Eccles. p. 147. Ingram's edition. Flor. Wigorn. Chron. A.D. 945. p. 604. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 664. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 348. Camden. ibid. p. 649. vol. 3. p. 177.

[b] Hen. Huntington. ibid. lib. 5. p. 203. 9. p. 355. Vide Usser. ibid.

[c] Camden. Brit. p. 370. vol. 2. p. 156.

[d] Ibid. p. 689. vol. 3. p. 304. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 667. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 350. As to this MS. in the Burleigh Library, see §. 9. p. 33. note [y].

tells us out of that ancient MS. of the division of Scotland. Lastly, the rest of Lothian or Lauden was granted [e] by king Edgar to Kennedy king of the Scots, on condition that he should attend him at court upon all collar-days: I suppose the meaning was by this grant, as well as by that of Cumbria, to oblige the Scots to help and defend the north parts of England against the Danes, of whom they were in continual danger in those times. What my author saith of Lauden in this place was meant for all the East Lowlands, according to the ancient extent of the word. For the people of all that country between Tweed's mouth and Edinburgh frith were called 'Ladeni' by the Romans, saith [f] Camden: who also saith, that all that country was called 'Lauden' by the writers of the middle age. We have an instance of this last in [g] Nennius, who placeth
46 Wedale in the province of Lauden, and yet but six miles from Melrose. And that this province was held by grant from the kings of England, we find [gg] acknowledged by Alexander king of the Scots, who did homage to his father-in-law Henry the Third, for this province, but refused to do the like for his kingdom. So likewise in ecclesiastical things, [h] the bishoprics of Glasgow, and Candida Casa (or Galloway), which had been formerly erected by the Britons, and being taken from them by the Saxons, were now come into the hands of the Scots, [i] were both of them subject without contradiction to the archbishop of York as their metropolitan for many

[e] Matt. West. ibid. A.D. 975. p. 376. p. 193. Usser. ibid.

[f] Camden. Brit. p. 685. vol. 3. p. 293.

[g] Nennius, cap. 61. in Camden. MS. cap. 64. cap. 63. p. 114. §. 56. p. 49. note 4.

[gg] Matt. Paris. Hist. Angl. ann. 1252. p. 829. 49. p. 710. Mackenzie ibid. p. 147.

[h] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 665, &c. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 349.

[i] Joan. Brompton. Chron.

ages: but when he, or the archbishop of Canterbury, demanded the like obedience of all the bishops of Scotland, it was refused, as being an encroachment upon the ancient liberty of the Scottish Church.

By the addition of these provinces the Scots were come to have a very considerable part of this island. And as the Picts before were taken into their body, so were now the [k] Clydesdale Welsh, and Cumbrian Britons, 47
and the Bernician Saxons, who together with those Danes that settled among them, were more in number than all the rest. The Saxons had this peculiar to themselves, that they kept their language without any great alteration; which came in a short time to be used by all the southern Scots; because it was the language of another great nation so near them upon the same continent. But they and all the rest were called by the name of Scots; for that was the people that had the chief share in the government, and went for all in their treaties with foreign nations. So that now a great people in this island being called by the same name that those were in Ireland, to distinguish the one people from the other, these being called Scots, those in Ireland were called the Irish Scots, or Irish without any addition: and the island where they dwelt, being sufficiently known by the ancient name of Ireland, began to lose the other name by which it had been called for 48
many ages: and so the name of Scotland came in time to be appropriated to the country which we call Scotland at this day.

col. 4. 57. Radulph. Cantuar. Epist. Calixto papæ, col. 1743. 4. 1746. 24. in Twysden. Hist. Angl. Script. Decem. Hoveden. Annal. pp. 550. 599. 714. inter Rer. Angl. Script. post Bed. Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 72. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 39.

[k] See §. 10. p. 39. §. 12. p. 44.

CHAP. II.

OF THE CONVERSION OF THESE NATIONS TO THE CHRISTIAN FAITH.

§. 1. THE first that received the Christian faith in this island were those Britons that lived under the Roman empire. It is very probable that it was [l] brought hither by some of the apostles, or at least by some other that lived soon after their times. [m] But that does not concern our question to enquire, how soon, or through whose hands the Christian religion came hither. No doubt there were Christians here, and that in considerable numbers, in [n] Tertullian's and in [o] Origen's days. And, which is sufficient for our purpose, we find by sure proofs that Christianity flourished here before it came to be the established religion at Rome, which was in the reign of
49 [p] Constantine, the first Christian emperor. Here in Britain it was that his father Constantius [q] lived the latter part of his reign; which was to the great advan-

[l] Eusebii Demonstr. Evang. lib. 3. p. 112. D. Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 740. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 386. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 1. p. 36. Theodoret. de Cur. Gr. Affect. serm. 9. in Oper. tom. 4. p. 610. B. Usser. de Primord. cap. 1. p. 4. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 2. Stillingfleet ib. p. 37. and note [a].

[m] See Stillingfleet ibid. cap. 1. p. 35.

[n] Tertull. cont. Jud. cap. 7. p. 212. D. et 213. A. p. 189. Usser. de Primord. cap. 7. p. 144. Brit Eccles. Antiq. p. 75. Stillingfleet ib. ch. 2. p. 50. Camden. ib. p. 47. vol. 1. p. l.

[o] Origen. in Ezek. Hom. 4. fol. 139. E. et in Luc. Hom. 6. fol. 96. Usser. de Primord. ibid. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 74. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 2. p. 57.

[p] Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 1. p. 36. chap. 2. p. 74. chap. 3. p. 89.

[q] Zosimi Hist. lib. 2. p. 672. 21. inter Sylburg. Roman. Hist. Scriptor. Græc. Minor. tom. 3. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 170. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 91. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 2. p. 72.

tage of that religion [r] so much favoured by him, that he would suffer no man to die for it in his dominions. Here it was [s] in the city of York, that Constantius died; and that his son Constantine, [t] with great consent of all men, for the love that they bore to his father, took upon him the title of Cæsar. From hence [u] he had the main of the army that was to defend his title against Maxentius, that set up an opposite title at Rome; and it was [x] in their presence that he first declared himself a Christian; which it is not likely that he would have done so publicly, and in such circumstances, if he had not been sure that his army was of the same religion. After this time Britain being always under the Roman emperors till the inundation of the barbarous nations, there is no reason to doubt that in this, as well as in all the other Roman provinces, Christianity was the established religion; and 50 that it was in all points the same Christianity that was in this and all the other provinces.

§. 2. [y] The South Picts, who inhabited that part of Scotland which was next to the Britons, received the Christian faith at their hands. Beda [z] tells us, that in

[r] Eusebii Hist. Eccles. lib. 8. cap. 13. p. 309. p. 396. Ibid. de Vita Constantini Magni, lib. 1. cap. 13. p. 413. C. D. p. 506. Lactant. de Mort. Persec. c. 15. in Oper. tom. 2. p. 202, &c. Optat. de Schism. lib. 1. p. 25. Sozomen. Histor. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 6. p. 407. C. p. 15. Usser. ibid. Stillingfleet ibid., where also for other authorities, as Ruffinus, Cassiodorus, &c.

[s] Eutrop. Histor. lib. 10. inter Sylburg. ibid. p. 128. Et alii, vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 7. p. 171. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 91. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 74.

[t] Euseb. de Vit. Constantini Magni, lib. 1. cap. 22. p. 419. B. p. 512. Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 8. p. 173. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 93. Stillingfleet ibid. for Lactantius, Eumenius, &c.

[u] Zosimi ibid. lib. 2. p. 676. 7. inter Sylburg. ibid.

[x] Euseb. ibid. lib. 1. c. 37. p. 426. B. p. 519. Lactant. de Mort. Persec. c. 44. in Oper. ibid. p. 239.

[y] See the Preface, p. xli. with notes, ch. 4. §. 1–3. p. 82.

[z] Bed. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 169. p. 186. Usser. de Pri-

the year 412, St. Nennianus, a Briton, brought up at Rome, was the author of their conversion, and that "at his preaching they left the error of idolatry, and received the belief of the truth." There is no reason to doubt that the religion which he planted there among the Picts, was the same that was established by law at Rome itself, and in the civilized Britain, and in all other provinces of the empire.

§. 3. [a] The Scots, who, as I shewed before, lived then in Ireland, were also converted by Britons that were subjects of the Roman empire. I do not say, but that some of these Scots might be Christians before those Britons came among them. For I dare not wholly reject those [b] Irish legends, of Kiaranus,
51 Ailbeus, Declanus, and Ibarus, who are said to have been all of the Irish nation, and to have gone and lived at Rome for some years, and there to have been ordained bishops, about the year of Christ 400, and from thence to have been sent into Ireland, where they made conversions, and founded the sees of Ossory, Ardmore, Lismore, and Beg-Erin. But though the effect of their labours is said to have been very considerable in some parts of Ireland, yet according to those legends they came very short of converting the body of the nation.

§. 4. [c] Palladius, to whom others ascribe their conversion, was he that (being then a deacon at Rome, as

mord. cap. 15. p. 661. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 347. Camden. ib. pp. 84. 693. vol. 1. p. xciii. vol. 3. p. 330. Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 5. p. 363. Saxon. Chron. ann. 560. p. 511. post Bedæ ib. edit. Wheloc. p. 25. edit. Ingram.

[a] Chap. 1. §. 6. p. 14.

[b] Usser. de Prim. c. 16. p. 789, &c. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 412, &c. which compare with the preceding pages. Lloyd again speaks of this subject, chap. 4. §. 2. p. 85. See Stillingfleet ib. ch. 2. p. 53.

[c] See Preface, p. 1. and notes there. Stillingfleet ibid. Pref. pp. lxv. &c. lxviii. &c. lxx. &c. ch. 2. p. 52. ch. 4. p. 187. See ch. 4. §. 2. p. 84.

[d] Prosper tells) in the year 429, got pope Celestine to send Germanus and Lupus to purge Britain of the Pelagian heresy. And the same Prosper [e] saith, in the year 431, that this Palladius being ordained a bishop by pope Celestine, was the first that was sent to the Scots that believed in Christ. Again, Prosper saith [f] elsewhere of that pope, having "ordained a bishop 52
for the Scots, while he endeavours to keep the Roman island catholic, he hath also made the barbarous island Christian:" where, as by 'the Roman island' he means Britain, which [g] other writers likewise call by that name; so by 'the barbarous island' opposed to it, he means [h] Ireland, as I have [i] already had occasion to shew. This last passage, which bringeth both the others together, was writ in the beginning of pope Sixtus, the successor of that Celestine; that is, about two years after the sending of Palladius on this mes-

[d] Prosper. Chr. Coss. Florentio et Dionysio. In Labbei Nov. Biblioth. tom. 1. p. 50. in Oper. tom. 1. p. 401. col. 1. 'Actione Palladii diaconi papa Celestinus Germanum Antissiodorensem episcopum vice sua mittit, et deturbatis hæreticis Britannos ad catholicam fidem dirigit.' Usser. de Primord. cap. 11. p. 320. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 172. See Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 4. p. 189. and note [t] to the contrary.

[e] Prosper. Chr. Coss. Basso et Antiocho. In Labbei ibid. p. 51. in Oper. ibid. 'Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a papa Celestino Palladius primus episcopus mittitur.' Usser. de Primord. cap. 11. p. 320. cap. 16. pp. 799. 801. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 173. 417, 418.

[f] Prosper. cont. Collat. c. 41. in Oper. tom. 1. cap. 21. p. 197. 'Ordinato Scotis episcopo, dum Romanam insulam studet servare catholicam, fecit etiam barbaram Christianam.' Usser. de Prim. cap. 11. p. 320. cap. 16. p. 797. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. pp. 172. 416. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 4. p. 188. Camden. ibid. p. 729. vol. 3. p. 466.

[g] Vopisc. in Floriano, p. 231. inter Histor. August. Scriptor. D. Gild. de Excid. Brit. p. 1005. in Orthodoxographa, §. 5. p. 3. §. 7. p. 15.

[h] Gildas ibid. p. 1007, calls the Scots 'Barbaricas feras.' §. 14. p. 5. §. 18. p. 24. et not 17. Vide Usser. de Primord. c. 16. p. 797. c. 12. p. 409. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 416. 220. Camden. ibid.

[i] Chap. 1. §. 4. p. 8.

sage. And these three quotations are much the more to be considered, because they came from one that not only knew what he writ, for he lived in public business at that time, but that is the fountain from whom [k] all others have taken what they have written of this matter. What others say of Palladius and his mission, I shall consider hereafter. But at present I bring these passages together to prove these three things, which will be of very great consequence in our business.

53 1. That Palladius was of the British nation and religion.

2. [1] That he was sent, not into Scotland, but into Ireland.

3. To these I shall add, that for making Ireland Christian, though Prosper might well enough say that pope Celestine did it, yet it was not done by Palladius, but by another that was sent after him.

1. For the first of these things, that Palladius was a Briton, it is that which [m] some have affirmed, and may seem probable from the care that he took to get this island rid of Pelagianism. For otherwise, it would be hard to imagine why he, living at Rome, should so far concern himself for a place so remote, and which was then almost as good as lost from the empire: or how, being but a deacon, he could follow this suit with such effect as to get the pope to engage in it; much more why he should be chronicled for it, that it was done only at his suit. His mission afterward into Ireland is some confirmation of this, that he was born
54 in Britain; but much more that which followed, if it

[k] Beda, Ado, &c. Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 799. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 417. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 2. p. 53.

[l] Jamieson ibid. c. 1. p. 7.

[m] Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 802. Addend. p. 1043. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 418.

were true, that failing in the design of his mission, he came at last to die in this island.

2. For the second thing, that his mission was not into Scotland, but into Ireland; that is so plain in Prosper's words, that none that lived in his age could mistake them. For where should they look for the Scoti, but in Scotia? as I have [n] shewed that Ireland was then called. There Prosper placeth these Scoti in the barbarous island, as he calleth it, and not in the Roman island, as there he calleth Britain.

3. Thirdly, whereas Prosper saith, that [o] that barbarous island was made Christian by pope Celestine; he could not probably mean that it was done while Celestine was living, much less that it was converted by Palladius, whom he sent thither. For considering how short a time there was between his mission into Ireland, and the time when Prosper writ this, it cannot seem very likely that he could convert any considerable number there within that time. But that he should go on so far in the work as to make the island 55
Christian, seems to me to be next to impossible. Especially if we take in that which hath been said of Palladius by others of the most ancient writers. For they tell us, as I am [p] about to shew, that he found the people in Ireland so averse from the Christian religion, that he could do no good upon them, or so little, that it was not worth mentioning; and that therefore he gave over his design, and intended to return back to Rome; but that taking his way through Britain, he died there in the country of the Picts, or in or near their confines; and all this within the year of his mission.

[n] Chap. 1. §. 4. p. 7.
[o] Page 52. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 2. p. 53.
[p] Page 57.

It was in the year 431, (as [q] Prosper saith, who could not want information in this matter,) that Palladius was ordained, and sent into these parts by pope Celestine. The same [r] Prosper saith in his Chronicle, that pope Celestine died the next year, in which we are therefore to place the beginning of pope Sixtus, that was his immediate successor. And yet in [s] another book the same author saith, that Celestine, ordaining a bishop for the Scots, "made the barbarous island Christian." If we consider when this last book was writ, it will appear that this conversion that he speaks of, if it was true, was very sudden. For it was writ, as he [t] there saith, within "little more than twenty years after St. Austin was engaged against the enemies of the grace of God;" that is, within such a space of time after the year 412 or 413 as bishop [u] Usher observes: and consequently, in the very beginning of the time of pope Sixtus, as Prosper there [x] adds, while the world was yet in expectation what he would do against the Pelagians. But if we may believe the most ancient writers that say any thing of Palladius which is not in Prosper, they tell us, on the contrary, that there was no such sudden conversion in Ireland; nay, that Palladius did nothing there that was considerable. For these are the words of [y] Nen-

[q] Page 51. Vide Usser. de Primord. Index Chron. p. 1009. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 516. col. 1. et 2.

[r] Prosper. Chr. ann. 432. in Labbei Nov. Bibliothec. tom. 1. pp. 50. 58. in Oper. tom. 1. p. 400. col. 1. 401. col. 1. Vide Usser. de Primord. ibid. p.1100. compared with chap. 16. p. 814. &c. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. ibid. p. 518. col. 2. p. 424.

[s] Prosp. contra Collat. c. 41. See p. 51. note [f].

[t] Prosper. ib. cap. 1. in Oper. tom. 1. p. 168.

[u] Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 365. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 197.

[x] Prosper. ib. cap. 44. in Oper. tom. 1. c. 22. p. 197.

[y] Nenn. c. 52. in bp. Usher's copy, cap. 55. in Cambr. MS. cap. 54. p. 112. Oxon. 1691. §. 50. p. 41. ed. 1838. 'Missus est Palladius episcopus primitus

nius, who is the most ancient author that I know. Having said that "bishop Palladius was sent at first" (before Patrick) by "Celestine, the Roman bishop and 57
pope, to convert the Scots to Christ;" he addeth, that "the Lord hindered him by certain tempests; for no man can receive any thing upon earth, unless it be given from heaven above;" whereupon "that Palladius went from Ireland, and came into [z]Britain, and died there in the land of the Picts." In like manner saith [a]Probus, in the Life of St. Patrick: "Palladius had been sent" [before him] "by pope Celestine, to convert this island; but God hindered him from converting that nation" (of the Scots); "for [b]those rugged and wild men would not receive his doctrine, nor would he stay any long time in a land which was not his; but was disposed to return to him that sent him: and when, in order to this, Palladius had passed the sea, and was come to the confines of the Picts, there he died." In like manner [c]Jocelin saith, that "because the Irish believed not his preaching, but most obstinately opposed him, he departed from their country, and in his way to Rome he died in Britain, near the confines of the Picts." More authors might be produced to this purpose; but these are enough to shew 58
that he could do no great matters in Ireland, and

a Celestino episcopo et papa Romano ad Scotos ad Christum convertendos. Sed prohibuit illum Dominus.' Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 812. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 423. for the authorities in this and notes a, b, c, following. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 2. p. 53. as to the passage of Nennius.

z Jamieson ibid. chap. 1. p. 9.

a Probus Vita Patr. lib. 1. inter Bedæ Oper. tom. 3. col. 229. Usser. ib.

b Probi ibid. 'immites et feri homines nolebant.' Usser. ibid.

c Jocelin. Vita Patricii, c. 25. p. 13. col. 2. inter Messinghami Florileg. Sanctor. Hiberniæ. 'Hibernis vero prædicationi non credentibus, sed obstinatissime oppugnantibus, a regione illorum discessit.' Usser. ibid.

therefore whatsoever pope Celestine did there, he must do it by other hands.

To bring us yet nearer to an end of this matter, we are assured that pope Celestine's death was within a year, or little more, of the time when he sent Palladius on his mission. For, as [d] Prosper tells us, his mission was in the year 431: so [e] he and others assure us that Celestine died the next year. And his death was on the sixth day of April, as we are told in the Pontifical. But it will presently appear that [f] Palladius died so long before him, that this pope had the news of his death; and was thereupon moved to send Patrick to succeed him in the mission. This gives a great colour of truth to that which [g] Bale tells us, that the death of Palladius was on the fifteenth of December: for that notation of time is very consistent with all that hath been said by the ancients of this matter. There was time enough between that and the sixth of April, for
59 Patrick to hear of his death, and afterward to go to Rome and receive any thing from pope Celestine before his death. There was also time enough in the year 431, before the fifteenth of December, for Palladius to receive his mission at Rome, and to try what he could do in Ireland, and finding no success there, to come and die in this island of Britain. All this might come within so short a time as that was, between his mission in the fore part of the year, and his death on the fifteenth of December following. [h] I confess it doth

[d] Page 51. and notes there.

[e] Prosper. Chr. et Marcellin. Comes. A. D. 432. in Labbei Nov. Biblioth. tom. 1. pp. 50. 58. in Oper. tom. 1. pp. 400. col. 1. 401. col. 1. See p. 55. note [r].

[f] Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. lxxi.

[g] Balæi Scriptor. Britan. Cent. 14. cap. 6. p. 186. Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. pp. 814. 836. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 424. 435.

[h] See chap. 7. §. 4. p. 147, &c.

not so well consist with their hypothesis, that make Palladius the founder of episcopacy in that part of Britain which is now called Scotland: much less with the fancy of their prime author [i] Boethius, that makes him baptize one Tervanus there in his infancy, and afterward consecrate the same person archbishop; this was more than could well be done in part of a year. Nor can it well be reconciled with that which Prosper saith of pope Celestine, that by ordaining a bishop for the Scots, "he made the barbarous island Christian." 60 For if he meant this of Palladius, then their conversion in Ireland must be within a small part of a year: and that is so extremely improbable, that, beside that we have all those authors against it, for the very improbability of the thing itself, I know not how to believe it. I should rather think [k] with bishop Usher, that those words were only a good omination of Prosper's upon the sending of Palladius thither, possibly upon his hearing at first better news than proved afterwards true: or it must have been written with respect to that mission of Patrick, which though not mentioned by Prosper, because perhaps this Patrick was a stranger at Rome, yet it might be sufficiently implied in those words of his Chronicon, if they are Prosper's, concerning Palladius, that he was sent to the Scots the first bishop.

§. 5. It appears by these words, that there was sent to the Scots by pope Celestine another bishop after Palladius; and this is all that can be gathered from them without the help of other books. But we find 61 by a general consent of the ancients that this other

[i] Hect. Boethii Scot. Hist. lib. 7. fol. 133. lin. 19. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 672. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 352. See chap. 4. §. 2. p. 88.

[k] Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 798. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 416.

bishop was St. Patrick, who was sent to the Scots by that pope after the death of Palladius. Thus [1] Nennius goeth on, in the place before mentioned; "Upon the news of the death of bishop Palladius, Patrick, another agent, is sent by Celestine, pope of Rome, to convert the Scots to the faith of Christ." Thus likewise the before mentioned [m] Probus, and Jocelin, together with many other ancient writers, whom [n] bishop Usher hath collected to prove this. Particularly [o] Marianus Scotus, whom I mention as being the ancientest that is extant of that nation, saith, that "after Palladius was [p] Patrick, a Briton by nation, consecrated by pope Celestine, and sent to be archbishop of Ireland." Where Marianus Scotus saith he was a Briton, and yet others say he was a Scot, we are to understand it, as [q] bishop Usher there shews, that he was born in that part of Britain which is since called Scotland. For his birth was at Nemthur, now
62 called Kirk-Patrick, near Graham's Dike, which was in the land of the Britons, but in or near the confines of the Picts, as [r] those writers describe the place of Palladius's death. Patrick was then in France, where he had made his studies, under his mother's uncle,

[1] Nennius, cap. 53. al. 56. cap. 55. p. 112. §. 51. p. 42. 'Audita morte Palladii episcopi, alius legatus Patricius—a Celestino papa Romano—ad Scotos convertendos in fidem Christi mittitur.' Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 839. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 437. Camden. ibid. p. 730. vol. 3. p. 467.

[m] Page 57.

[n] Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 814. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 424.

[o] Mar. Scot. Ann. 432. col. 340. 'Post ipsum S. Patricius fuit, genere Brito, a S. Celestino papa consecratus, et ad archiepiscopatum Hiberniensem mittitur.' Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 841. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 438. Jamieson ibid. chap. 1. p. 8.

[p] Tanner and Cave ibid. under Patricius. Nicolson's Irish Historical Library, part 3. ch. 4. p. 37. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 1. p. 16. note [a].

[q] Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 820. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 427.

[r] §. 4. p. 57.

St. Martin, and had taken all his orders of deacon, priest and bishop, as I shall [s] shew in due place. But hearing there of the death of Palladius, (which might come the sooner to him, if Palladius died, as I suppose he did, there among his relations,) thereupon Patrick went to pope Celestine, and obtained the like assistances from him as Palladius had formerly received. And therewith going to Ireland, (which he seems to have better understood, because being taken captive heretofore, he had lived there for some years,) he bestowed his labours so successfully, with God's blessing, that, as [t] Prosper saith, he indeed "made the barbarous island Christian," and is therefore justly accounted the apostle of that nation.

§. 6. After these conversions, first of the South 63
Picts in Britain, and then of the Scots in their Ireland, (both which conversions happened in one age, and within a few years of one another,) it was yet above a hundred and twenty years that the North Picts still continued in their state of Gentilism. And then, about the year 560, St. Columba, who was a Scot, came over [u] out of Ireland, and having obtained the isle of [x] Hy, where he founded a monastery, he and the monks that he brought with him [y] converted king Brudius and his nation to the faith of Christ.

[s] Chap. 4. §. 3. p. 89.

[t] §. 4. p. 52.

[u] Adamnan. de Columb. lib. 1. cap. 1. in Canisii ibid. p. 565. Messinghami ibid. p. 147. 'de Scotia in Britanniam.' Tanner and Cave ibid. under Columba. Stillingfleet ibid. Pref. p. xlii. Jamieson ibid. chap. 1. p. 6. c. 2. pp. 13–21.

[x] See chap. 5. p. 98. note. Stillingfleet ibid. Pref. pp. xlii. xliii. lxix. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 703. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 367. Camden. ibid. in the Additions, vol. 3. p. 388. Jamieson ibid. p. 21.

[y] Bed. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 169. p. 106. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 691. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 362. Camden. ib. pp. 84. 707. 848. vol. 1. p. xciii. vol. 3. pp. 387. 714. See ch. 1. §. 9. p. 35.

I desire the reader to take notice that this conversion was not from the Pelagian heresy, as some [z] late authors would have it, but from downright Gentilism. This we are told by a writer who was one of the best able to inform us, namely, by Adamnanus, who was one of Columba's successors in his monastery. He [a] tells us, that king Brudius was a heathen, and so were [b] his people, till Columba came thither and made
64 them Christians. So likewise Bede, who had great opportunity to inform himself, both as being so near those times, and as having been much conversant with that people. His [c] words are, that Columba was the first teacher of the Christian faith to the North Picts that dwell beyond the mountains.

§. 7. In this interval of time, between these two last conversions of the Scots and Northern Picts, the Roman province of Britain was [d] quite rent away from the Roman empire; and not only the countries between this and Rome were impassable, by reason of the inundation of the barbarous nations, but even Italy itself had divers times changed its lords, till at last it came to settle under the Greek emperors, [e] little more than twenty years before this last conversion. So that for near a hundred years, there was almost no possibility of communication between Rome and the Britons; and therefore it was no wonder if there was grown a great strangeness between them. Besides, in

[z] Hect. Boeth. Scot. Hist. lib. 2. fol. 172. 54. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 691. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 362.

[a] Adamnan. de Columb. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 22. in Canisii ibid. p. 595. in Messinghami ibid. cap. 14. p. 166.

[b] Ibid. cap. 10. 18, 19. 21. in Canisii ibid. pp. 587. 592, 593. 595. in Messinghami ibid. cap. 6. 12. 14. pp. 161. 164. col. 1, 2. 166.

[c] Bed. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 10. p. 402. cap. 9. p. 191. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 687. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 359.

[d] Chap. 1. §. 6, 7. p. 23, &c.

[e] Under Justinian.

that interval of time, the Roman Church was much altered from what it was formerly, that it was scarce 65
to be known by them that had not seen it in many years: it was grown very much in stature, and had, as it were, another countenance in the outward face of its communion.

§. 8. Rome began to shoot up at the time of the [f] Sardican council; when [g] that canon was made in favour of that see, which, about sixty years after, pope Zosimus would fain [h] have persuaded the African fathers to have taken for a canon of the first Nicene council. But as they would not swallow that gudgeon, so neither would the Gallican bishops by their good will: but they were forced to that or worse, by Valentinian the Third; who being a weak and vicious prince, thought to strengthen himself by humouring that see, which had so great an influence on his empire. And no doubt that [i] Novel of his, giving the bishop of Rome an authority over all bishops in his dominion, which at that time consisted of Italy, Spain, France, and part of Illyricum, might occasion the barbarous nations, who 66
soon after overrun all those countries, to have a great opinion, and even a veneration for the Roman see.

[f] Usser. de Primord. cap. 8. p. 195. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 105. Stillingfleet's Rational Account of the Grounds of the Protestant Religion, ch. 5, Of the Roman Church's Authority; in his Works, vol. 4. p. 403: and his Antiquities of the British Churches, ch. 3. p. 134.

[g] Conc. Sardic. can. 7. in Labbei Concil. tom. 2. col. 646. et col. 653.

[h] Zosim. Commonit. in Conc. Carth. 6. cap. 3. in Labbei ibid. col. 1589, 1590, which compare with note [i] col. 1602, note [d] col. 686, 687, note [h] col. 690. ibid. Lloyd follows a different version of these canons from Stillingfleet, in his Antiquities, ibid. ch. 3. p. 137. note [m]. See also Stillingfleet's Works, vol. 4. ibid. pp. 391. 399, &c.

[i] Novel. Valent. III. in Concil. tom. 3. fol. 1401. ed. Labbei ib. Vide Basnag. Annal. Politico-Eccles. tom. 3. p. 409. Spanhem. Hist. Christ. sæct. 5. cap. 6. col. 986, 987. in Oper. tom. 1.

They were converted to that opinion, and Christianity together, by those bishops whom they found upon the place in their conquests; and being wholly ignorant of antiquity, and more intent on other things, they did not trouble themselves with Church matters. But the Britons, whom the emperor had left to themselves [k] before that law was made, might very well be ignorant of it: and therefore continuing in their primitive liberty, a hundred and fifty years after this, when pope Gregory the First would make Austin the monk their archbishop, [l] they told him plainly, "We will not be thy subjects;" they knew of no authority he had over them.

§. 9. In like manner, within that interval of time, there were [m] many things changed in the Roman communion; which, after they had continued an age or two in their Church, themselves did not know, or would not
67 own, to be alterations. This appeared especially, in the rule that they had for the finding out of [n] Easter, and of all their other movable feasts. They [o] found it by a cycle of eighty-four years, which was called "the Roman account" [p] so lately as in pope Leo's time. The Scots and South Picts used the same cycle from the time of their conversion; and so did the Britons, without any manner of alteration: but about eighty years

[k] Ch. 1. §. 6. p. 21, &c. Stillingfleet's Antiquities ibid. ch. 5. p. 294. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 599. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 313.

[l] Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. 2. cap. 2. p. 112. p. 80. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 357. See ch. 3. §. 10. p. 81.

[m] See ch. 4. §. 4. p. 93.

[n] See ch. 4. §. 6. p. 97. ch. 7. §. 9. p. 171.

[o] Bed. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 22. p. 459. cap. 21. p. 216. Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 930. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 482.

[p] Bucher. Doct. Temp. Comment. in Victor. Canon. Paschal. pp. 138. 190. Usher's Religion of Irish and British, ch. 9. p. 93. Stillingfleet's Answer to S. Cressy, p. 319, &c., and in his Works, vol. 5. p. 691, &c. Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 925. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 480.

after the rending of the Roman empire, the Romans, having left off the use of that cycle, took up another of nineteen years; which though it was better in many respects, yet was new in these parts, and made a great difference from the former. And when the Romans had used this new cycle another eighty years, coming then to have to do with these northern nations, they would needs have imposed the use of it upon them, as a condition of their communion. They did indeed face them down with [q] two things which were palpably false: one was, that the Romans had received their cycle by tradition from St. Peter; [r] the other, that it 68
was made use of every where except in these islands. To the first of these assertions, the [s] Scots, for want of knowing better, opposed only the authority of St. John for their cycle; as to the other, they could not tell what to say: whereas in truth, though they did not know it, the Roman account came but an age or two before from Alexandria, and was not yet received in all the western Church, [t] not in some part of France in particular; but that in use among the Scots was the same cycle that they and the Britons had ever used since their conversion, and it was the same that was anciently used in the Roman Church.

§. 10. By these instances it sufficiently appears, that though Rome had not yet proceeded so far as to make new articles of faith, (for that was not done by any act of the Church, that we read of, in one thousand years after Christ's time,) yet she had made great alterations in

[q] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 235. p. 133. Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 931. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 482.

[r] Bedæ ibid. lib. 2. cap. 19. p. 154. p. 100. Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 934. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 484.

[s] Usser. de Primord. (ex Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 234. p. 132.) p. 940. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 487.

[t] Bucher. ibid. p. 193, &c.

See notes [o], [p], in the last page.

other things, and made bold to impose them on other
69 Churches as conditions of her communion. It appears that these northern Churches were shut out of her communion, they were [u] called the schismatics of Britain and Ireland; for no other reason, but only because they would not receive these alterations, nor submit to the authority by which they were imposed. They on the other hand were not willing to break communion, but continued it with them that kept Easter with the Romans, as some did, without abetting their usurpation. Thus the British bishops joined in the office of ordination with [y] Wini, a Saxon, that was [x] made bishop in France. Thus the Scots helped Birinus to convert the West Saxons, though he had been made bishop in Italy. Nay [z] they joined in communion with them of Kent, that had been converted immediately from Rome, and never broke with them till they were forced to it, as I shall shew in [a] due place. Wheresoever they found the Roman tyranny abetted against them, there indeed
70 they stood upon their terms, and [b] laid the schism upon them that were the cause of it, and [c] would "no more communicate with them than with pagans," as Bede tells us. The [d] Scots of South Ireland stood thus little more than thirty years after Austin came over: all the other Scots and the Picts held out [e] near a hundred

[u] Steph. Hedd. Life of Wilfrid. n. 5. inter Mabillon. Act. Sanct. Bened. sæc. 4. part. 1. p. 679. Gal. Hist. Brit., &c. Script. 15. tom. 1. p. 45. Usher's Religion of Irish, ib. ch. 10. p. 106.

[x] Bedæ ibid. lib. 3. cap. 28. p. 247. p. 137. Vide ibid. cap. 7. quoted in the next note, p. 177. p. 110.

[y] Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 176. p. 109.

[z] Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 233. p. 131.

[a] Ch. 5. §. 5. 7. pp. 107. 109.

[b] Usher's Religion of Irish, ib. ch. 10. p. 109.

[c] Bed. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 20. p. 158. p. 101.

[d] Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 934, &c. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 484, &c. Vide de Primord. cap. 15. p. 700. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 366.

[e] Till the year 716, saith Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 169; till

years longer: but the Britons [f] much above two hundred years. And yet the Churches that stood at this distance from Rome, all the while continued [g] communion with each other, and kept their religion the same in all points that it was when the Roman empire stood, and the same that was anciently in the purer Roman Church.

A.D. 715, ibid. p. 107. Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 701. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 366. Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. lxx.

[f] Usher's Religion of Irish, ib. ch. 10. p. 113. Usser. de Primord. Index Chronol. p. 1172. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 542. col. 1.

[g] Bed. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 234. p. 132. 'hos (Scotos) tantum et obstinationis eorum complices, Pictos dico et Britones,' &c.

71

CHAP. III.

OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH GOVERNMENT IN THESE NATIONS; AND FIRST AMONG THE BRITONS.

§. 1. HAVING shewn that the Christian religion here in Britain was the same that was in all other provinces of the Roman empire, and that while the empire stood, the Christians of this and the other provinces were all in communion together; this alone were sufficient to prove that they had the same kind of Church government: and that government, at least from the time that Christianity came to be the established religion, being unquestionably in other provinces a diocesan episcopacy; not only in name, but in authority, the same that is now in these kingdoms; [a] it would be reasonable to judge that there was the same government here in [b] Britain, though for want of ancient writings there could be produced no plain instances of it.

72 But (as it hath pleased God) there is no want of such instances to prove that episcopacy was settled here as it was in other countries.

§. 2. First, we find at the council of Arles, (which was called by Constantine the Great in the year 314,) as there were some of all the three orders out of every one of the western provinces, so there were [c] out of Britain, three bishops, one priest, and one deacon.

[a] Mackenzie ibid. p. 18, notices this passage.

[b] Stillingfleet's Antiquities, ibid. ch. 2. p. 77.

[c] Concil. Arelat. 1. subscript. post canones. Spelman. Concil. tom. 1. p. 43. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 74. Usser. de Primord. cap. 8. p. 195. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 104. Camden. ibid. p. 305. vol. 2. p. 4.

These bishops were (as [f] Mr. Jones observes with great probability) the bishops of the three metropolitical cities. Two are certain, namely those of London and York: and for the third, which was from a colony, he might probably be of Caerleon. Under these three metropolitans there [g] are said to have been twenty-five other bishops; which, considering that the province reached northward as far as Graham's Dike, was much about the same number that is now in that compass of land; and therefore also the dioceses of those bishops were one with another of equal extent with the dioceses that are now in this kingdom.

§. 3. What the power of each bishop was then in 73 his diocese, it may partly be understood from the eighteenth canon of that council; which being so very corrupt that it is hardly sense in the common editions of the councils, I shall here set it down [h] as it is in that ancient manuscript of the councils in the library at Sarum, which was writ before the Norman conquest, as far as I can judge by the character. These are the words of it: "For the deacons of Rome, that they take not upon them there on their own account, but that honour be reserved to the presbyters. And that the presbyters do nothing without leave of the bishop."

[f] Jones Of the Heart and its rīght Sovereign, p. 137. Stillingfleet ibid.

[g] Gild. de Excid. Brit. lib. 1. in Orthodox. p. 1004. Hist. Gild. §. 1. p. 1. §. 3. p. 11. et not. saith there were twenty-eight cities in Britain. Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 57. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 31. from Gild. de Victoria Aur. Ambros. lib. 7. and from the British Chron. &c., shews that they were all episcopal sees. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 77, to the contrary; whom also, ch. 1. p. 7, as to the pretended work of Gildas, concerning Aur. Ambrosius.

[h] Concil. Arelat. 1. can. 18. 'De diaconibus urbicis, ut non aliquid pro se ibi præsumant, sed honor presbyteris reservetur. Et presbyteri sine conscientia episcopi nihil faciant.' Vide Labbei Concil. tom. 1. col. 1429.

The last words, which set forth the episcopal power, are the same in effect with those [i] in the epistles of Ignatius bishop of Antioch, which have been often produced in defence of the episcopal authority. No man that considers the antiquity of that father, who died within ten years after St. John the apostle, can doubt whether his kind of episcopacy were the [k] government
74 that the apostles left in his Church; no man that weighs the words can doubt whether, in his judgment that used them, all the priests of every diocese were subject to their own bishop; and, as the words stand in that canon, they shew that priests owe no less obedience to their bishop, than is due to priests from their own deacons: which being the sense of all those Churches that sent their clergy to that council, we have no reason to doubt, but that among the rest it was then the sense of the British Church. This instance is so much the more to be considered, because it was not only before the council of Nice, but immediately after the tenth persecution; and therefore it was before there could be any of those temptations of secular greatness and wealth, which are said to have caused the corruptions that altered the primitive purity of ecclesiastical government; so that whatsoever was then in the Church, we have reason to believe had continued from the first constitution.

75 §. 4. Within twelve years after the council of Arles was the [l] first Nicene council, which has always been

[i] Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes. p. 30. ad Philadelph. p. 99. et passim.

[k] See Cave's Dissertation concerning the Government of the Ancient Church, by Bishops, Metropolitans, and Patriarchs. Parker's Account of the Government of the Christian Church for the first six hundred years.

[l] Usser. de Primord. cap. 8. p. 195. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 104. Cave ibid. ch. 2. p. 46, &c. Parker ibid. p. 197, compared with Bevereg. Pandect. Canon. tom. 1. p. 62, &c. tom. 2. in Annot. p. 47, &c.

held in so great veneration by all Christian Churches to this day. Among the canons of this council the third, fifteenth, sixteenth, eighteenth, have express mention of bishops, priests, and deacons, which three orders are therein supposed to be in all Churches; and in the fifth, eighth, twelfth, thirteenth, sixteenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth, the bishop is spoken of, as having the sole power of ordination and jurisdiction; and the fourth, sixth, and seventh, are concerning the canonical rights of metropolitan bishops in their provinces.

How far this may concern us, we cannot judge, unless we knew that the [m] British Church consented to these canons. But we may reasonably presume, that this Church consented to them, because the emperor did: nay we have more than presumption for it from the emperor himself; who, declaring that the [n] council's rule concerning Easter was received in the provinces, 76 saith [o] expressly, it was received in Britain. Therefore it is more than probable that this Church received the Nicene canons, which may serve for a further proof that it had this ecclesiastical government.

§. 5. Sure enough the Nicene creed was received by the bishops of Britain, as well as by those of the other provinces which were not present at the council: so much appeared by [p] their letters to St. Hilary, and [q] the great Athanasius. It also appears, that they approved of the judgment of the Sardican council in behalf of Athanasius against his adversaries. But it does not appear that any of the British bishops were then present at Sardica: though some great men have collected it

[m] Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 3. p. 88, &c.

[n] Ibid. p. 91.

[o] Euseb. Vit. Constant. Mag. lib. 3. cap. 19. p. 588. Usser. ibid. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 90.

[p] Hilar. Pictav. Oper. de Synod. col. 1149–1151.

[q] Athanas. Epist. ad Jovianum, A. in Oper. tom. 1. p. 246. tom. 1. p. 781. Usser. de Primord. ibid. cap. 8. p. 196. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 105. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 4. p. 175.

from [r] a passage in the Latin translation of his works, who would have thought otherwise if they had consulted the original; for there Athanasius speaks not of them that were present at the council, but of them that gave their consent to the things that were judged there
77 in his cause.

§. 6. Yet several of our bishops were present soon after at the council of Ariminum; saith Sulpitius Severus: who [s] tells us, that three of them had their bishoprics so meanly endowed, that they were forced to live there at the public charge. This perhaps might be the reason why we find so few of them at any of those councils that were held beyond the seas; and it seems, in those times, while this nation was under the Roman emperors, there were but slender encouragements for learning or religion: for if there had been a plentiful provision for learned men, it would have appeared in all likelihood by some of their writings; and if religion had been regarded as it ought, it would scarce have been at that low ebb as we find it was when [t] St. German came hither.

§. 7. But that still the Church here continued under the same episcopal government, even after this island was broken off from the Roman empire; (beside what may be gathered from the lives of [u] Dubricius, David,
78 Paternus, and many other of the old British bishops,)

[r] Athanas. Apol. 2. beginning. In Oper. tom. 1. p. 720. tom. 1. p. 123. Apol. contra Arian. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 3. p. 134. Usser. ibid. Camden. ibid. p. 54. vol. 1. p. lvi.

[s] Sulpit. Hist. lib. 2. p. 420. Usser. ibid. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 4. pp. 176. 180. Camden. ibid. pp. 55. 730. vol. 1. p. lviii. vol. 3. p. 467.

[t] Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 5. p. 202, &c., and references to Usher.

[u] Tanner ibid. under the names of the two first. Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 90. cap. 14. p. 527. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 48. 275, as to Paternus. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 4. p. 202, &c. ch. 5. p. 346, &c., for additional references to Usher.

we find it in two unquestionable authors, which are all that from their own knowledge have given us any information of the things of that age.

§. 8. One was [x] Gildas that writ about the year 560, a little more than a hundred years after the Saxons came hither. He [y] tells us, that they being heathens, had destroyed religion where they came; they killed "the governors of the Church, with the presbyters and people:" where, that he means bishops by the 'governors,' it appears by that [z] which follows soon after. For [a] he shews that the Britons that escaped out of their hands had still the three orders remaining among them, "of bishops, or other sacerdotes, or clerks." These [b] he calls the "ecclesiastical orders or degrees." The highest [c] degree was of them whom St. Paul would have to be irreprehensible, (that is surely the bishops, 1 Tim. iii. 2.) These were called 'sacerdotes,' as well as they of the second order; for so he [d] mentions the "sacerdotal seat, of bishop, or presbyter;" where by 'a bishop's seat,' he means a cathedral, and by a 'presbyter's seat,' a parish church: and he [e] distinguishes 79

[x] See Preface, p. x, and notes.

[y] Gild. de Excid. Brit. lib. 1. p. 1009. in Orthodoxographa, §. 24. p. 8. §. 24. p. 32. 'Præpositos ecclesiæ, cum sacerdotibus et populo.' Camden. ibid. p. 79. vol. 1. p. lxxxvii. Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 416. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 223. See Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 5. p. 325.

[z] Gild. ibid. lib. 2. p. 1018. in Orthodoxog. Epist. Gild. as in note [b] following.

[a] Ibid. lib. 2. p. 1017. in Orthodoxographa. Epist. Gild. p. 23. §. 65. p. 71. 'Episcoporum, vel cæterorum sacerdotum, aut clericorum.' Usser. de Primord. cap. 14. p. 548. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 285.

[b] Gild. ibid. lib. 2. p. 1018. in Orthodoxographa. Epist. Gild. p. 23. §. 66. p. 73. 'Ecclesiasticos gradus.' Usser. de Primord. cap. 14. p. 549. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 285.

[c] Gild. ibid. in Orthodox. Ep. Gild. p. 24. §. 66. p. 74. 'Summus gradus.'

[d] Ibid. in Orthodoxographa. Epist. Gild. p. 23. §. 66. p. 74. 'Sacerdotalem episcopatus vel presbyterii sedem.' Usser. ibid. See Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 5. p. 350. and note [z].

[e] Gild. ibid. in Orthodoxog. Epist. Gild. p. 24. §. 66. p. 74.

between them that have " only the name of sacerdos," and them [f] that have " the apostolical dignity," that is bishops, of whom Ignatius bishop of Antioch, he saith, [g] was " sacerdos-summus-potestate." So it is plain what he means by those words " episcoporum vel cæterorum sacerdotum," that they were bishops and presbyters. And that by the lowest degree, which is there called of clerks, he means deacons; it appears by his [h] promiscuous use of those words ("diaconus et clericus,") clerk and deacon. So that there can be no doubt what the Church government was among the Britons in Gildas's time.

§. 9. What it was about forty years after, when Gregory the First sent his missionaries hither, we have no better authority to inform us than [i] Bede, who lived within a hundred years of that time. He tells us, that
80 when Austin the monk inquired how he ought to behave himself toward the bishops of the French and of the Britons; the pope, that knew what his monk would be at, answered him to the point, " We give thee no authority over the bishops of France, for we ought not to deprive the bishop of Arles of the authority which he hath received from us," to be their metropolitan, " but [k] all the bishops of Britain we commit to thee." I pass by the ambition of the man, and the arrogance of the master: there was enough of the 'typhus Romanus' in both of them. But to our purpose, I cannot but observe that in Britain, as well as in France, there were

' Tantum sacerdotale nomen.' Usser. ibid.

[f] Gild. ibid. 'Apostolicam dignitatem.' Usser. ibid.

[g] Gild. ibid. p. 1020. in Orthodox. Epist. Gild. p. 27. §. 75. p. 84.

[h] Ibid. p. 1027. in Orthodox. Epist. Gild. p. 38. §. 109. p. 115. et not. 21. Usser. de Primord. cap. 14. p. 554. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 288.

[i] Bed. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 27. p. 85. p. 65. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 5. p. 356.

[k] Bed. ibid. p. 86. p. 65.

bishops, that might pass muster well enough, if the pope might be allowed to lord it over them.

§. 10. Accordingly, when Austin came to treat with the Britons, we find [l] that the treaty on their part was managed first by their bishops and learned men, without any mention of number; and afterwards by their seven bishops and many learned men with them. And when 81
Austin the monk told them what he would have, it appears they understood him as his master the pope did: and therefore they thought the properest answer they could give him was [m] this, "We will not have thee to be our archbishop." If they would but have granted him that, it seems that all would have been well enough between them. And therefore, except that dispute about the supremacy, there was no other difference in point of government, between that which the Romans brought hither into England, and that which at their coming they found settled here in the British Church. On both parts there was a diocesan episcopacy, the same that was then in France, and in Italy, from which countries Austin brought his patterns along with him: and as well the Britons as the English have continued that episcopacy by succession in most of the same bishops' sees that then were to this day.

[l] Bed. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 2. p. 110. p. 79. Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 90. not. [m]. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 48. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 5. p. 357.

[m] Bed. ibid. p. 112. p. 80. Stillingfleet ibid. See ch. 2. §. 8. p. 66.

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CHAP. IV.

OF THE GOVERNMENT IN THE OTHER CHURCHES IN THESE ISLANDS.

IT may seem an over curious diligence in me, that I have been so large in the proof of that which perhaps no man denies. For I know of none that doth not grant that there was in those times such an episcopacy in the British Church. But yet I thought it worth the while to prove this, as I have done, because it will be of great use in the following controversy. For if the British Church was settled under such an episcopacy, it will follow that there was the same government in all the other Churches of this island: for they all were converted by Britons, or held communion with the British Church, and that in such acts as plainly shew that they had the same government.

§. 1. The South Picts, as I [a] have shewn, were con-
83 verted by Ninian, [b] about the year 412, that is, while Britain was yet under the Roman government. But Ninian himself was a Briton, and he was brought up at Rome, which is enough to assure us of his religion. And if that be not enough to make him thought favourable to episcopacy, this is, that he was a bishop himself when he converted them. His see was at [c] Candida Casa, or Whitherne, in that country which is now called Galloway in Scotland, which was then

[a] Chap. 2. §. 2. p. 50. and note [z].

[b] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 169. p. 106. Saxon Chron. ann. 560. p. 511. post Bedæ Eccl. Hist. Wheloci edit. p. 25. Ingram's edit.

[c] Jamieson ibid. ch. 1. p. 11. ch. 15. p. 334.

inhabited by the Roman Britons. There living near the Picts, he was often conversant with them, and so had opportunity to go into their country; where, having made a general conversion of that people, he did all the other parts of an apostle: if we may believe the writer of his Life, [d] he consecrated bishops among them, he ordained priests, and divided their country into parishes; and so having formed and settled their Church, he returned to his own see at Whitherne, and there he died about eighteen years after their conversion.

§. 2. Of the Scots I have [e] shewn that at the time of their conversion there were none that lived out of Ireland. Thither it was, as I have [f] also shewn, that in the year 431. Palladius was sent from Rome to be their bishop. This we have from [g] Prosper, an unquestionable writer of that age. He saith, as it is in Labbe's edition, "to the Scots believing Christ, Palladius, being ordained by pope Celestine, is sent the first bishop." There seems to have been another reading of the words in that copy which [h] Nennius had before him: for he has "convertendos" instead of "[i] credentes," and "primitus" instead of "primus;" which makes the sense very much different from that in Labbe's edition. And in this variation he goes not

[d] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 668. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 350. Tanner ibid. under Ninianus.

[e] Chap. 1. §. 9. p. 32. and chap. 2. §. 3, &c. p. 50, &c.

[f] Chap. 2. §. 4. p. 51, &c.

[g] Prosper. Aquitan. Chron. Coss. Basso et Antiocho. in Labbei Nov. Biblioth. Manuscript. tom. 1. p. 51; and from him Bedæ ibid. lib. 1. cap. 13. p. 55. p. 51, where, in note 11, the error of Baronius is corrected. Epit. Bedæ. ann. 430. p. 489. p. 220.

[h] Nenn. cap. 52. Camb. MS. cap. 55. cap. 54. p. 112. §. 50. p. 41. Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 812. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 423. as in note [y], p. 56.

[i] Vide Usser. de Primord. p. 799. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 417. as in note [e], p. 51.

alone, but with others, some of whom I have [k] mentioned: according to their sense of the words, Palladius was sent to a people that were 'to be converted,' and not to them that were 'believers' already; and these say only he was sent 'at the first,' that is, before
85 St. Patrick; whereas in our copies it is said that he was sent 'the first bishop.' Nay, to make the matter yet more doubtful, it is not certain that Prosper said any thing more but only this, that he was ordained bishop by that pope, and sent to the Scots, &c.; for the word 'primus,' as [l] bishop Usher observes, is not in our perfectest copy. But yet we see it was in that copy which [m] Bede had before him, whose reading is followed by most of the later writers. Perhaps it might have been put in by some that knew that St. Patrick was a bishop sent thither also by the same pope; for they might think it worth noting, that [n] Palladius was sent before him in the same quality: and that might be Prosper's own meaning, if the word was in the original copy. It might also signify, according to the [o] Irish tradition, that these Scots [p] had already formed Churches under bishops Kiaranus, Ailbeus, &c. But the pope ordained Palladius, and sent him to be their 'primus episcopus,' that is, their primate, as [q] bishop
86 Usher understands it; or that he, and not St. Patrick, was their first archbishop. This last I conceive [r] to be

[k] Chap. 2. §. 4. p. 56.

[l] Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 799. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 417.

[m] Usser. ibid. See p. 51. note [e].

[n] Florent. Wigorn. Chron. ann. 431. p. 539. 'Palladius primus episcopus missus est: post ipsum S. Patricius.' So Jocelin, c. 25. in Messingham. Florileg. Sanct. Hibern. p. 13. col. 2.

[o] Chap. 2. §. 3.

[p] Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 799. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 417. See chap. 2. §. 3. p. 50. and note [b].

[q] Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. pp. 800. 899. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 417. 466. from Sigebert and others.

[r] Saxon. Chron. ann. 429. p. 506. post Bedæ Eccl. Hist. Wheloc. ed. p. 12. Ingram's ed.

the true meaning of the words, if 'primus' was in the original. But whether it was or no, we are not greatly concerned. For as [s] it is certain that Palladius was sent into Ireland, and not into Britain, so we are sure that in either of these islands he stayed but a very short time, and did nothing worth the remembering; so far was he from erecting a new form of government, or from altering any form that he found already settled in those countries.

As for that which is said by ancient [t] writers, of his coming to die somewhere in the north part of Britain; though that may seem to give some kind of countenance to those [u] fablers that make him to have lived many years among the Scots, and there to have set up episcopacy; yet this colour abates, as soon as it is remembered that the Scots were not then come to live in this island; so that, if he did any thing in that country, it must be among the Picts. And indeed all 87 that speak of his dying here, [v] say, it was among them, or in or near to their confines. But then he came either too soon or too late to set up episcopacy any where in their country. It was too soon to do it among the North Picts; for they were not Christians till above a hundred years after, in the time of Columba, who [w] was, as Bede tells us, the first teacher of Christianity in that country. And therefore, if it was any where, it must be among the South Picts, according to [x] the author of Scotichronicon, though he did not intend it: for out of his good-will to bestow a saint upon his own town of Fordon, he made Eugenius,

[s] Chap. 2. §. 4. p. 51, &c. and notes.

[t] Chap. 2. §. 4. p. 57.

[u] See chap. 7. §. 4. pp. 147–151.

[v] Chap. 2. §. 4. p. 57.

[w] Chap. 2. §. 6. pp. 62–64. and notes.

[x] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 670. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 351. out of John of Fordon's Scotichronicon.

king of the Scots, give Palladius a settlement there; not considering that Fordon belonged at that time to the South Picts, and that the Scots never had it [y] till above 400 years after. It seems this was new to the monks of that place; and this discovery of John of Fordon's set them upon searching for the body of
88 Palladius, which was found there, as the Scottish writers tell us, in the year 1494, that is, within eleven hundred years after his death. [z] No doubt they found a dead body there, whosoever it was. But admit it was the body of Palladius, or at least that he died there, or somewhere else among the South Picts, it does not follow that he brought episcopacy, or any thing new into that country. For the South Picts were already turned Christian, by [a] Nennianus, who was himself a British bishop, and who had there formed a Church under diocesan bishops, as we have [b] already shewn; and there is no mention of any one bishop that was ordained by Palladius, either there, or any where else, except Servanus and Tervanus, whose ordinations were long after his death, as it is [c] proved by bishop Usher.

§. 3. Therefore to say no more of the effects of Palladius's apostleship among the Irish, or any where else, than we have from ancient writers, that is very little more than nothing; the honour of converting the
89 generality of that nation was reserved for St. Patrick, who [d] came thither within one year after the sending of the other, and he is generally acknowledged to have been the apostle of that nation.

y Chap. 1. §. 9, 10, 11. pp. 32–42, &c.

z Hector. Boeth. Scot. Hist. lib. 7. fol. 133. lin. 10, &c. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 671. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 352.

a Chap. 2. §. 2. p. 50.

b Chap. 4. §. 1. p. 83. and note d.

c Usser. de Primord. Index Chronolog. p. 1100. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 516. col. 2. See ch. 2. §. 4. p. 59.

d Chap. 2. §. 5. p. 60.

Before we come to shew what he did in that ministry, it will be easy to judge what he would do concerning Church government, if we consider him in all his former relations. For first, he was born in the Roman province of Britain, which was enough to engage both his judgment and his affections to the government of bishops; it being then the only form that was in his country, not to say, as justly I may, the only form that ever was among Christians. But besides, we are told, [e] that he had all three orders in his own family: his father, Calpurnius, was a deacon; his grandfather, Potitus, a priest; and his mother's brother, St. Martin, was bishop of Tours in France. In his younger travels he was taken [f] captive, and carried into Ireland, where he was kept so for some years. The compassion that he had then for the people there being altogether heathens, was that which 90 gave him the first impulse to endeavour their conversion. After he had his liberty, he came to live with his uncle St. Martin; and after his death, and a second travel, he lived with [g] St. German, bishop of Auxerre: both these were diocesan bishops, of whom the first made him deacon, the second made him priest, which was a further engagement to episcopacy. St. German having [h] heard of the death of Palladius, persuaded him to take the duty upon himself, as he formerly designed, to go and preach the faith in that country.

[e] Nenn. ibid. cap. 52. not included in the editions of 1691. and 1838. by Gale and the Historical Society. Usser. de Prim. Index Chronolog. p. 1087. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 512. col. 2. See chap. 2. §. 6. p. 62.

[f] Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 827. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 431.

[g] Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 4. p. 206.

[h] Nenn. ibid. cap. 53. Cambridge MS. cap. 56. 'Audita morte Palladii monente et suadente Germano sancto episcopo, ad Scotos convertendos in fidem Christi mittitur.' Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 839. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 437.

In order to this, being first ordained bishop in France, he went afterward to [i] pope Celestine, who was the best able to furnish him with necessaries, and who had already shewed his good will to the design by sending Palladius thither before him. And that pope did for him as he had done for Palladius; that is, he [k] made him archbishop, and gave him all accommodations for the work; which was thought enough to entitle him
91 to the good success of it. To this sense I should choose to apply those words of [1] Prosper, in his book against Cassian; where, speaking of pope Celestine, he saith, that "by ordaining a bishop for the Scots, he made that barbarous island Christian."

But by the way, however that pope had the credit of it, our Britons were all that wrought in that conversion: for as Patrick himself was one of this nation, so were all the rest that he took with him for his assistance: of whom [m] Nennius names these three, Segerus a bishop, Auxilius a priest, and Yserninus a deacon, that were all ordained with him, as he saith, by the holy bishop Amatheus, who first gave him, that before was called Maun, the name of Patricius.

Being now come into Ireland, he laboured there with great success: and having in few years made the island Christian, as there Prosper tells us, [n] he formed it into diocesan Churches; [o] he ordained thirty bishops

[i] Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 814. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 424. from Nennius, ibid. cap. 55. p. 112. §. 51. p. 42, Probus, Marianus, Sigebert, &c.

[k] Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 815. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 424. from Marianus, Florent. Wigorn, &c. Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 873. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 453. from Sigebert, &c.

[1] See chap. 2. §. 4. p. 51.

[m] Nenn. ibid. cap. 54. Cambr. MS. cap. 57. cap. 56. p. 112. §. 51. p. 42. Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 839. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 437.

[n] Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 869. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 452.

[o] Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 872. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 453.

of those Britons that came to him; [p] he placed his own see at Armagh, which he made the metropolis: [q] there he sat as archbishop and primate of Ireland, 92
[r] there he held his yearly synods, and did all other things according to the patterns that he had seen in other countries. I know not whether it be worth taking notice of, that [rr] Nennius saith, and some others after him, that Patrick writ 365 ABC's, founded 365 churches, ordained 365 bishops, or more, and no fewer than 3000 priests. It seems the writers of those times, when they were set upon the pin of multiplying, used to say that things were as many as the days of the year: for so the [s] writer of Kentigern's Life saith, that in his monastery at St. Asaph, he had 365 monks for divine service; which no man will understand literally that knows the place. Perhaps the meaning might be, that beside those thirty bishops which Patrick ordained for the bishops' sees, he also ordained as many suffragans as there were rural deaneries, in each of which there were eight or nine parish priests, taking one deanery with another. If St. Patrick would so 93
far consult the ease of the bishops, or the people's convenience, he might do it without altering the species of the Church government. But no man that writes of the Church matters of Ireland speaks of any thing

p Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 858. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 446.

q Usser. ibid. Camden. ibid. p. 764. vol. 3. p. 612. Additions, p. 714.

r Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 872. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 453.

rr Nenn. cap. 57. Camb. MS. cap. 60. cap. 59. p. 113. §. 54. p. 45. 'Scripsit Abegetoria 365, ecclesias quoque eodem numero fundavit 365, ordinavit episcopos 365, aut eo amplius; presbyteros autem usque ad 3000.' Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 950. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 492. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 5. p. 348.

s Usser. de Primord. cap. 14. p. 565. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 293. from John of Tinmouth. Vide Camden. ib. p. 552. vol. 2. p. 588.

there in those times, which was otherwise than it was in the Churches of the Roman empire. And for the sees that were then founded in Ireland, we have an account of many of their bishops in that work which sir [t] James Ware has published concerning the prelates of Ireland; where also he shews how in some of those sees the succession has been continued ever since till our age.

§. 4. But the Roman empire stood not long after this last mentioned conversion. It was about the time when Prosper writ, that the Saxons overran Britain, and soon after the like was done in other countries: so that these northern Christians were grown strangers to them in Italy; and before they came to be acquainted again, there were those innovations at Rome,
94 which I mentioned [u] in the foregoing chapter. Their not yielding to these real innovations was a bar to their communion with Rome, which by this time was ignorant enough to mistake ancient things for innovations. But yet Rome had nothing to say against their form of Church government; she found it still the same that was in other Christian countries; and therefore, if other things had been agreed, she would have owned their bishops, and communicated with them, as [v] the Saxons and Britons did with one another.

§. 5. For their communicating together, as well while they were strangers to Rome, as after they had refused to submit to her terms of communion, this is so well known, that I need not spend much time to prove it. [w] Kentigern, the British bishop of Glasgow,

[t] Waræus de Præsul. Hibern. p. 684. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 358. Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 5. p. 362. Nicolson's English Historical Library, part 2. chap. 1. p. 79. Tanner ibid. under Chentegernus.

[u] Chap. 2. §. 9. p. 66.

[v] Chap. 2. §. 10. p. 69.

[w] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15.

was ordained by an Irish bishop; and for Cedd, a Scotch bishop, Wini being to ordain him, took in two British bishops to his assistance. Divers other such instances we might bring, if there were occasion. But the words of Laurentius, Mellitus and Justus, the 95
Roman bishops that were ordained by Austin the monk, are [x]plain enough: "We have found," say they, "by conversing with them, that the Scots do not differ from the Britons."

§. 6. But as [y] I have shewn that the Romans did not dislike the orders that they found in the British Church; so it appears that what were then among the Scots, they either approved, or at least they had nothing to say against them. When the before named Roman bishops sent that epistle into Ireland, the [z] inscription was, "To our lords and dearest brethren, the bishops and abbots, throughout all Scotland;" that is, Ireland, the Scots' own country, as Bede there interprets it. The matter of this epistle was to invite them into the Roman communion, but not a word they had to say against their orders. In like manner when John, the pope elect, writ his epistle to the clergy of the north part of Ireland, who yet persisted in their former way of reckoning their Easter, when the South Irish were come over to the new way that 96
was used in the Roman Church; the inscription of the epistle to them, whom they at Rome accounted schismatics, was, "To our most beloved and most holy [a] Tomianus, Columbanus, Cronanus, Dimanus and Baibus, episcopis et abbatibus per universam Scotiam.' Jamieson ibid. ch. 5. p. 103.

[a] Bedæ ibid. lib. 2. cap. 19. p. 154. p. 100. Corrected by bishop Usher, de Primord. cap. 17. p. 968. Brit. Eccles. Antiq.

[x] Bedæ ibid. lib. 2. cap. 4. p. 118. p. 82. 'Scotos nihil discrepare a Britonibus in eorum conversatione didicimus.'

[y] Chap. 3. §. 9. p. 80, &c.

[z] Bedæ ibid. p. 118. p. 82. 'Dominis et charissimis fratri-

thanus, bishops; Cronanus, Ernianus, Laustranus, Scellanus and Segianus, priests; Seranus and the other Scottish doctors or abbots." This [b] Tomianus was then archbishop of Armagh, Dimanus was bishop of Connor, Baithanus was bishop of Clonmacnois, as it appears in sir James Ware's Catalogue. I have not found the sees of the other two bishops. Those five presbyters, and that one without any title, were all of them abbots, as may be judged by the inscription of the former epistle, which is only to bishops and abbots. Cronanus, the first of the presbyters, seems to have been the abbot of Roscrea: Segianus, the last of them, seems to have been the same with Segenius, abbot of that monastery in the Isle of Hy; for Segenius came to be abbot in the year 623, and died in the
97 year 652, between which two years, on the last day of December 640, was the consecration of John IV. who, while he was yet [c] pope elect, wrote this epistle. [d] Saranus was an abbot that was not in priest's orders; which ought to be remembered, when [e] we come to consider how true it is that abbots and [f] senior monks could ordain, as some would have it. The matter of the epistle to these Irish bishops and abbots was chiefly to persuade them that in finding of [g] Easter they followed the Jews: which, as it discovers the pope's

p. 502. 'Dilectissimis et sanctissimis Tomiano, &c. episcopis; Cronano, &c. presbyteris; Sarano, cæterisque doctoribus seu abbatibus Scotis.'

[b] Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 938. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 486. Waræi de Præsul. Hibern. pp. 5. 62. 96. Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 969. cap. 15. p. 702. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 502. 367. See Jamieson ibid. ch. 5. p. 104. in agreement with Lloyd and Usher.

[c] Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 938. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 486.

[d] He is mentioned by Bede: as in note [a], in the last page. See ch. 7. §. 9. p. 169.

[e] Chap. 7. §. 7. p. 163.

[f] Jamieson ibid. ch. 4. p. 62.

[g] See chap. 2. §. 9. p. 67. and notes.

ignorance in this point, so it shews that he stuck at nothing else in their church, and therefore not at their orders; they are acknowledged in the title of the epistle, and there is nothing against them in the body of it. Therefore we cannot wonder to find that the [h] Saxons admitted the Irish clergy to officiate among them, as sometime they did, and suffered their bishops to join with them in the office of ordination.

This may suffice for the Scots that were in Ireland, to shew that they had the same sort of bishops among 98 them that were in all other Churches.

[h] See chap. 2. §. 10. p. 69. and notes.

CHAP. V.

OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT AMONG THE SCOTS AND NORTH PICTS IN SCOTLAND AND IN ENGLAND.

LASTLY, for the North Picts, and the Scots their converters, who dwelt in the Isle of [a] Hy, and who from thence converted all the north of England, and furnished it with its first bishops. The question is chiefly concerning these, of whom therefore I am to speak more particularly.

§. 1. It hath been [b] shewn that the first conversion of these Picts was by Columba and his twelve monks, who were all Scots that came out of Ireland. And therefore we may reasonably presume that their sense concerning Church government was the same that was generally in their country. And there [c] I have shewn
99 that at the time of this conversion there was a settled diocesan episcopacy. But besides, concerning Columba himself, we are assured that [d] when he was in Leinster, a young man, and then deacon, he was the disciple of [e] Finian, who had been seven times at Rome, and was at that time bishop of Meath; and it is said that it was

[a] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 696. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 364, &c. Camden. ibid. in the Additions, vol. 3. p. 714. Jamieson ibid. ch. 2. p. 22, &c.

[b] Chap. 2. §. 6. p. 63.

[c] §. 10. p. 69.

[d] Adamnan. de Columb. lib. 3. cap. 7. in Canis. ibid. p. 605. in Messingham. ibid. p. 172. Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 909. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 471.

[e] Called Findbarrus episcopus by Adamnanus. Ibid. lib. 2. cap. 1. in Canis. ibid. p. 583. in Messingham. ibid. p. 158. his master, the reverend bishop Finio, Adamn. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 4. in Canis. ibid. p. 603. cap. 2. in Messingham. ibid. p. 171. and Cummeneus in his Life of Columba, n. 3. Vinianus episcopus. in Mabillon. Act. Sanct. Ordin. Bened. sæc. 1. p. 362. Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 901, &c. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 467.

by this Finian's advice, that, being forced to leave Ireland for fear of king Dermot, he chose to make his retreat into that part of Britain. Being there in Iona he knew by revelation the death of [f] his dear friend Columbanus bishop of Leighlin. His education under one diocesan bishop, and his intimacy with another, makes it yet more probable that Columba was not against that sort of episcopacy.

It may be asked, why then he was not ordained bishop himself? especially when he was going to convert a heathen nation? which was the same reason for which Palladius and Patrick were made bishops. It seems probable that, when he went upon this service, the bishops in Ireland durst not ordain him, for fear of provoking the king to turn his wrath upon themselves. But besides, it seems that he chose rather to be an abbot than a bishop, having from his youth devoted himself to a monastic life. He was so fond of that way of life, that (as [g] Bede tells us) he had founded many monasteries even before he came out of Ireland; and adding to them what he founded afterward, a [h] writer of his life reckons them to have been no less than a hundred, all which he subjected to his monastery of Hy, above mentioned. That monastery and that island

[f] Cummeneus ibid. n. 8. in Mabillon. ibid. p. 363. and Adamn. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 16. in Canis. ibid. p. 609. cap. 8. in Messingham. ibid. p. 174. 'Columbanus episcopus Laginensis, carus Columbæ amicus.' Concerning the different persons of the name of Columba, and Columbanus, vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 687. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 360. Tanner. ib. under their names.

[g] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 169. p. 107, where it is said that Columba's disciples founded many monasteries. See ch. 7. §. 10. p. 173.

[h] Adamn. ibid.:—this reference is an error. Vide Jocelin. Vit. Patric. cap. 89. in Messingham. ibid. p. 42. Smith's Life of Columba, Appendix, p. 149. Jamieson ibid. ch. 2. p. 16. Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 687. cap. 17. pp. 910. 919. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 360. 471. 476.

were his property; there he was much more than a bishop; he lived like the general of his order, and was truly, as one called our Anselm, a [i] pope of another world. But yet that even there he acknowledged the superiority of the episcopal order, and that he did not think bishops unnecessary even in his monastery, these two things I shall shew out of the little that remains to us of those times.

101 §. 2. First, that Columba did acknowledge the superiority of the episcopal order above that which he had being a priest, and that even in his own monastery; of this I shall give an instance out of his Life writ by his successor Adamnanus, who was abbot of Hy when Bede was but seven years old, and both for the place and time when he lived was very capable to be a witness of what he writes. He [k] tells us, that there came to Columba in Hy one that demeaned himself as humbly as he could, that none might know that he was a bishop. But yet that could not be concealed from the holy man [Columba]: for one Lord's day the holy man having ordered him at the communion to consecrate with him, according to the custom, he called to the holy man [l] that they might break the Lord's bread together, as two priests [used to do in their way of consecration]. The holy man therefore coming to the altar, on the sudden Columba looked him in the face, and said to him, "Christ bless thee, my brother; [m] thou
102 being a bishop, break this bread alone as a bishop uses

[i] Urban II. bishop of Rome, so called Anselm, at the council of Bar, in Italy. Cave Hist. Literar. tom. 2. p. 180.

[k] Adamn. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 26. in Canis. ibid. p. 579. cap. 16. in Messingham. ibid. p. 155. See notes to Bede ibid. b. 3. ch. 4. in Smith's edition, p. 107. Jamieson ibid. ch. 3. p. 54, &c.

[l] Adamn. ibid. 'Ut simul, quasi duo presbyteri, Dominicum panem frangerent.'

[m] Ibid. 'Hunc solus episcopus episcopali ritu frange panem.'

to do. Now we know that thou art a bishop. Why hast thou hitherto endeavoured to conceal thyself [n] that we might not give thee due veneration?" [o] These words of Columba to a bishop do sufficiently shew that he acknowledged the episcopal order superior to his own order of presbyter; which was the first thing that I undertook to prove.

§. 3. The other is, that Columba did acknowledge that bishops were necessary for the ordaining of others into the ministry. That he did not think bishops unnecessary, it appears in that there was always one in his monastery, as [p] bishop Usher tells us out of the Ulster annals. And why could not the abbot live there without a bishop? Sure it was to do something which without the help of a bishop he could not do himself, neither singly, nor in conjunction with the rest of his clergy: and whatsoever that was, it was part of an office that made the bishop more than a name. Of this sort, as there was one always resident in his 103 monastery; so there was, as [q] Bede tells us, "a bishop of all the province," whether the same with the resident, or another, I cannot yet find. And besides, there were commonly more bishops coming and going; such as either came on visits, or were driven out of their country, or retired thither from the world. For their monasteries (as I [r] shall shew) were the universities of that age: and though the greatest part of the monks were laymen, that maintained themselves by working with their own hands; yet what clergy they had in

[n] Adamn. ibid. 'Ut tibi a nobis debita non redderetur veneratio.'

[o] See Preface to Keith's Catalogue of the Bishops of Scotland, p. xix.

[p] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 701. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 367. See ch. 7. §. 9. p. 166. Jamieson ibid. ch. 3. p. 48, &c.

[q] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 169. p. 107. See ch. 7. §. 10. pp. 173. 177

[r] Chap. 7. §. 7. p. 160, &c.

those days were bred up in these monasteries, and there for lower orders they were ordained by the resident bishop. To ordain another bishop, the resident might have others there to join with him; though, if more could not be had, [s] one might do it in case of necessity.

§. 4. [t] Thus when king Oswald, becoming a Christian, desired to have a bishop from Hy, to plant a Church among his Northumbrians; first, they [u] sent him [x] one
104 that was ordained perhaps only by the bishop of Hy. When he could not agree with his people, he therefore [y] returned back to his monastery; where, having in a council of the seniors given an account of his ill reception, [z] Aidan being then present, and discoursing well of the matter, all the seniors [a] pitched upon him; and judging him "worthy to be a bishop," they decreed that he "ought to be sent:" it follows, that "so they ordained him, and sent him." Then at least there were present [b] two bishops for Aidan's ordination; and if the see of Dunkeld was then founded, as [c] old writers tell us, the bishop of that place might make a third: or there might be some other, of whom Bede had no occasion to tell us; for he could little think that ever it

[s] Usher's Religion of Irish and British ibid. ch. 8. p. 78. Jamieson ibid. ch. 4. p. 62.

[t] Jamieson ibid. ch. 3. p. 36, &c.

[u] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 166. p. 105. lib. 3. cap. 5. p. 171. p. 108.

[x] Hect. Boethius ibid. lib. 9. cap. 20, says his name was Cormannus. Note on Bede, b. 3. chap. 5. p. 108. Smith's edition.

[y] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 5. p. 171. p. 108.

[z] Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. lxx. for Aidan and others.

[a] Bed. ibid. p. 172. p. 108. 'Ipsum esse dignum episcopatu, ipsum, &c. mitti debere decernunt, sicque illum ordinantes miserunt.' So ibid. c. 23. p. 480. cap. 22. p. 217. 'Aidanum miserant antistitem.'

[b] Jamieson ibid. ch. 4. p. 58. &c. compared with note [a], p. 107, of this volume.

[c] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 705. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 368.

would come to be a question, whether Aidan were ordained by bishops or by presbyters.

§. 5. But that Aidan was [d] ordained there at Hy, Bede plainly saith in these words; [dd] "King Oswald desired to have a bishop sent to him," and "he received bishop Aidan;" and again, "bishop Aidan came to him;" 105 again, [e] Aidan was sent from Hy to convert the English, "having received the degree of bishop in the time when Segenius abbot and priest was over that monastery." By the way, this Segenius is Seginus in other copies, which is nearer to Segianus [f] before mentioned. And that this ordination was into a higher order than that of presbyters, it sufficiently appears by divers things that we read of in Bede's history: as namely, [g] that he chose "the place of his episcopal see" in the Isle of Lindisfarn; [h] "there he was with his clergy," and there was "the abbot with his monks," who all "belonged to the care of the bishop." For his clergy, he had divers persons that came with him from Hy; of them probably were his chaplains that went about with him, of whom one is called [i] 'presbyter suus,' his domestic chaplain; and one or two [k] 'clerici sui,' his presbyters, in king [l] Alfred's translation; beside these, there were many presbyters that came out of Ireland, who preached and baptized; and so [m] "churches were built in many 106

[d] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 5. pp. 169. 172. p. 107, beginning and ending. See Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 5. p. 362. note y.

[dd] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 166. p. 105. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 697. cap. 17. p. 919. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 365. 476.

[e] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 5. p. 169. p. 107. 'accepto gradu episcopatus.'

[f] Chap. 4. §. 6. p. 96.

[g] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 166. p. 105.

[h] Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 27. p. 350. p. 176.

[i] Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 14. p. 200. p. 118. lib. 3. cap. 23. p. 226. p. 128.

[k] Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 5. p. 170. p. 107.

[l] Ibid. p. 107. p. 526.

[m] Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 167. p. 106.

places" throughout his diocese. Next, for the extent of his diocese, it was as large as [n] Oswald's kingdom of the Northumbrians; and particularly, [o] where the king had a town, there he had a church, and a lodging. For a nursery for his clergy, the king gave [p] "possessions and territories for the founding of monasteries;" at one of these, which was Heortea, [q] he consecrated Heru abbess. And no doubt he ordained men of all orders, to fill up his clergy where there was occasion, as well as his successors did, as [r] I shall shew; and governed them and his flock as long as he was bishop, which was [s] for seventeen years, even till his death. All which time Bede calleth him bishop Aidan, as oft as he mentions him. And as more than once he gives him an excellent character for the good he did, and spends some [t] whole chapters in giving account of his miracles; so he dislikes nothing in his whole conduct, but his not
107 keeping right Easter: and [u] saith, for all that, he was not only in communion with the bishops that came from Rome; but as, while he lived, he was deservedly beloved by them, and was had in veneration by the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of the East Angles; so [x] after his death he was accounted a saint by them of the Roman communion. This sufficiently sheweth that they did not take him for an intruder into their order, but were very well satisfied with his ordination.

[n] Ibid. p. 167. p. 105.
[o] Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 17. p. 204. p. 120.
[p] Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 167. p. 106.
[q] Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 23. p. 321. p. 168. Heru, or Heiu.
[r] §. 6. p. 108.
[s] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 17. p. 203. p. 120.
[t] Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 15, 16, 17. p. 201. p. 119.
[u] Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 233. p. 125.
[x] Bed. Vit. Cuthbert. n. 4. in Bed. Oper. tom. 3. col. 155, et post Bed. Eccl. Hist. p. 231. ed. Smith. Collier's Ecclesiastivo History of Great Britain, l. 1. b. 2. cent. 7. p. 91. col. 2.

§. 6. After Aidan's death, "Finan [y] succeeded him in his bishopric, and [z] in his stead received [a] the degree of episcopacy," saith Bede, again using the same expression; meaning (I suppose) that he received a degree higher than what he had before when he was priest. And he also was [b] "ordained, and sent by the Scots;" that is, by Scottish bishops, as I shall shew [c] afterwards. There was great reason this should be done in Hy, for there was no bishop to do it in [d] Northumbria. When he came thither into his diocese, Bede [e] saith, "he made a church fit for an episcopal see," which it seems 108 that was not which Aidan had built, for he built only for the present necessity. This Finan [f] baptized Peada king of the Middle Angles with all his court; and then gave him four priests, one Scot, and three English, to baptize all the rest of his people: the Scottish priest, who was named Diuma, he afterward [g] ordained to be [h] bishop of that province of Mercia. Finan also [i] baptized Sigebert king of the East Angles with his friends: who having gotten two priests to convert and baptize his people, when that was done, one of them, whose name was [k] Cedd, came to acquaint bishop Finan with their success; who [l] having found the work of the gospel

[y] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 17. p. 204. p. 120. 'Successit ei in episcopatu.'

[z] Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 17. p. 204. cap. 25. p. 233. pp. 120. 131. Usser. de Primord. Addend. p. 1036. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 15. p. 365. Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. lxx.

[a] This expression is particularly insisted upon, as decisively in favour of episcopacy, in note 36. on Bede, ib. b. 3. ch. 5. p. 107. Smith's edition. Jamieson ibid. ch. 5. p. 82, &c.

[b] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 233. p. 131.

[c] Chap. 6. §. 4. p. 117.

[d] Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 78. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 42.

[e] Bed. ibid.

[f] Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 21. p. 218. p. 125.

[g] Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 21. p. 219. p. 126.

[h] Jamieson ibid. ch. 5. p. 85, acknowledges this circumstance to be in favour of episcopacy.

[i] Ibid. cap. 22. p. 222. p. 126.

[k] See ch. 6. §. 5. p. 119.

[l] Bed. ibid. cap. 22. p. 222. p. 127.

prospered in his hands, [m] "sent for two other bishops to assist him in the ministry of ordination, and he with them ordained Cedd bishop of the East Angles." These instances may suffice to shew that Finan took upon him to be more than a presbyter, and that Bede meant something more in [n] calling him as he does constantly a bishop.

109 §. 7. After his death, [o] Colman [p] succeeded in the bishopric, saith Bede; who addeth, that he also was [q] "sent from Scotland," that is [r] from Hy, and that [s] "he was a bishop of Scotland," and the Scots [t] "sent him bishop to Lindisfarn." So his ordination, his see, and his diocese, [u] were the same with those of Aidan and Finan. The Church at Lindisfarn was [x] that in which he presided, and his diocese also was the kingdom of Northumbria. But some other kingdoms, that had bishops of their own, being then subject to the king of Northumbria, it seems that Colman was their metropolitan bishop: for so I find him called by a [y] writer then living, "Colman, metropolitan of the city of York." There he governed till the thirtieth year [z] of "the episcopacy of the Scots, which they held in

[m] Ibid. p. 223. p. 127.

[n] Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 17. p. 204. p. 120. 'tempore non pauco in episcopatu permansit.'

[o] Jamieson ibid. ch. 5. p. 83.

[p] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 233. p. 131.

[q] Ibid.

[r] Ib. lib. 4. cap. 4. p. 270. p. 146.

[s] Ibid. where it is said about thirty Anglo-Saxons accompanied him to Ireland. See next page, note [a].

[t] Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 234. p. 131.

[u] Ibid.

[x] Ibid. cap. 26. p. 239. p. 135. 'Ecclesia cui præerat.' Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 919. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 476.

[y] Steph. Hedd. Vit. Wilfrid. n. 10. in Mabillon. ibid. sæc. 4. part. 1. p. 681. in Gale. Hist. Brit. Script. 15. tom. 1. p. 55. Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 78. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 42.

[z] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 26. p. 239. p. 134. 'Episcopatus Scotorum, quem gesserunt in provincia Anglorum.' Usser. de Primord. Addend. p. 1067. et cap. 17. p. 964. Brit. Eccles.

the province of the English." For Aidan held the bishopric seventeen years, Finan ten years, Colman three years. And then being fain to leave his bishopric, because he would not comply with the Romans upon the controversy about the [a] keeping of Easter, he went 110
[b] first to Hy, and from thence to Inisbofin in Ireland; where, after all, he died a bishop, and as such is recorded in [c] the Ulster annals.

§. 8. After Colman was gone, [d] the next bishop of the Northumbrians was Tuda. He (as [e] Bede saith) "was brought up, and ordained a bishop, among the South Scots in Ireland." But these [f] South Scots had, upon the pope's admonition, received the new rule for keeping Easter, about thirty years before Colman was bishop; and therefore there can be no doubt that their orders were the same as in the Roman Church. So [g] Bede saith, that Tuda had "his tonsure according to the manner of that province, and observed the catholic rule of the time of Easter." While [h] Colman yet "held the office of high priest," this Irish bishop was come over into Northumbria, and there "diligently taught by word and deed those things which belong to faith and truth." The covenanting Scots of our age would first have made him renounce his order of bishop, before 111
they would have admitted him to any work of the

Antiq. p. 499, where also for notes [a] and [b], following. Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. lxx.

[a] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 26. p. 239. p. 134.

[b] Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 4. p. 270. p. 146.

[c] Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 964. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 499. Stillingfleet, Preface, p. lxx.

[d] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 26. p. 239. p. 134. 'Suscepit pro illo pontificatum Northanhymbrorum Tuda.'

[e] Ibid.

[f] See chap. 2. §. 8. p. 70. and note [d].

[g] Bed. ibid.

[h] Ibid. where for the excellent characters of the Scottish bishops.

ministry: but Colman did admit Tuda to be a teacher, which sheweth that the Churches were yet in communion together, and so they continued, till the breach, upon king [i]Oswy's imposition of the new rule of Easter. When that had driven away Colman, then this bishop, being ready upon the place, [k] Bede saith, took upon him "the office of high priest in his stead." And to shew what the high priest's office was, if that word need any explication, [l] Bede saith, "he governed the Church:" but it was a very little while, for he died of the plague the same year.

§. 9. The [m] next bishop of Lindisfarn was Eata, who was [n] ordained by Theodore archbishop of Canterbury, and made first bishop of Hagulstad, and afterward translated to [o] Lindisfarn. Of him, and all his successors, there is no controversy. The question is only concern-
112 ing his predecessors; whether they were such bishops as are now in our Church, or whether they were only called bishops equivocally. But if Eata was a proper diocesan bishop, so was Tuda, and so were his other predecessors. For we read of no change of government in Bede, who is the only author between us in this part of the controversy; but he makes them orderly succeed one another, in the see of Lindisfarn, as bishops of the Northumbrian diocese. And to put the matter out of dispute, where he speaks of this last bishop, "the most reverend father Eata," as [p] he calls him; he saith, that he had the abbey and monastery of Lindisfarn under

[i] See references in note [z], §. 7. p. 109.

[k] Bed. ibid.

[l] Ibid.

[m] Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 26. p. 239. p. 135, where it appears Eata was a disciple of Aidan.

[n] Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 12. p. 291. p. 155. Hagulstad, now called Hexham.

[o] Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 28. p. 353. p. 177.

[p] Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 27. p. 350. p. 176.

him, as Aidan had, who was " the first bishop" of the place. Surely Bede could not have called Aidan the first bishop, in relation to Eata, if Aidan and the rest were not such bishops as Eata was, but only called bishops equivocally.

113

CHAP. VI.

THAT ALL THE OTHER BISHOPS ORDAINED BY THE SCOTS WERE PROPERLY BISHOPS.

TO make it plainer yet, what kind of bishops those were in Northumbria; it may be considered what those were whom they ordained for other countries. They ordained bishops over the Mercians, and Middle Angles, and East Saxons. If we find that these were in our sense proper bishops, we have reason to judge that they were so that ordained them.

§. 1. First, of the Middle Angles, we [q] read that Diuma, who was a Scotchman belonging to Finan, and three other presbyters of the Northumbrian diocese preached to them, and converted and baptized them. No doubt they, as being priests, might preach and administer the sacraments. But there wanted something more for the perfecting of a Church. And though
114 Diuma was the chief of these four, he could not yet supply that defect, as being only senior presbyter. Therefore Diuma goes to Finan bishop of Lindisfarn, and gets him to ordain him a bishop, as [r] I have shewn [s] from Bede; who addeth, that he was bishop of the Middle Angles and Mercians; "there being so few priests, that one was fain to be bishop over both those countries," which [t] contained no less than seventeen or eighteen of our counties; and the Mercians were no less than [u] "twelve thousand families," as Bede tells

[q] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 21. p. 218. p. 125.

[r] Ch. 5. §. 6. p. 108.

[s] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 21. p. 219. p. 126.

[t] Usher's Discourse of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British, ch. 10. p. 115.

[u] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 24. p. 232. p. 130.

us, (though according to their account, it must be a great town that had a hundred families in it, when [x]Anglesea had no more than nine hundred, and the Isle of Man had but three hundred families in it.) It seems if there had been store of presbyters, each people of those two before mentioned should have had a bishop to itself; and yet a bishop for twelve thousand families, so dispersed as they were, had been something more than a congregational or parochial bishop; they must find some other name for him that would not have him called a diocesan.

§. 2. After his death, [y]Bede saith that "Ceollah, or 115
Cellah, a Scot, took the office of a bishop in his stead;" who, not long after, [z]left his bishopric, or office of bishop, and returned to the Isle of Hy.

§. 3. After him, [a]Tromhere "succeeded in the bishopric;" which Tromhere was a religious man, and of monastic education, an Englishman by nation, and of kin to Oswin, king of Northumbria, but "[b]brought up and ordained by the Scots." These are Bede's words, who tells us there, that [c]he was abbot of the monastery of Ingetlingum; which shews that by that ordination he was only a presbyter. But in another place, speaking of his succession to Ceollah, [d]he saith he was "ordained bishop by the Scots." It appears that he had at least two different ordinations, of which one was

[x] Bed. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 9. p. 129. p. 87, where it is said Anglesea had nine hundred and sixty families, and Man three hundred and upwards, according to the English computation.

[y] Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 21. p. 219. p. 126.

[z] Ibid. and lib. 3. cap. 24. p. 231. p. 130.

[a] Ibid.

[b] Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 21. p. 219. p. 126.

[c] Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 24. p. 232. p. 130. Ingetlingum has changed its appellation for Gilling, near Richmond in Yorkshire. Note on Bede ibid. b. 3. c. 14. p. 117. Smith's edition.

[d] Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 21. p. 220. p. 126.

to be a priest, the other was to be a bishop. The question is, whether the Scots that ordained him both times were themselves only presbyters? which question, though we cannot answer from Bede in this
116 place, we shall clearly resolve it from another place of Bede, which will follow in the next section.

§. 4. The East Saxons were converted by means of their king Sigebert, who being to visit his friend king Oswy in Northumbria, was by him persuaded to be a Christian, and baptized by bishop Finan before mentioned. But Sigebert desiring king Oswy to give him some teachers to convert and baptize his people, Oswy sent to the province of the Middle Angles for Cedd, one of the three presbyters that with Diuma had converted that people, as is before mentioned. This Cedd was an Englishman, brought up at Lindisfarn, saith Bede; [e] who addeth, that he was one of four brothers, that were all of them eminent presbyters; and two of them, namely, this Cedd and his brother Chad, came to have the degree of high priest, that is, chief bishop, in the Saxon translation. Of [f] Chad it will be shewn that he was ordained bishop of York, by [g] Wini, bishop
117 of Winchester, and two British bishops. Of this Cedd it cannot be doubted that he was a bishop; for Bede calls him so ten times [h] in one chapter, and near a hundred times in his book; but it may be doubted whether bishops ordained him, because he is [i] said to have been ordained by the Scots: for [k] if the Scots were governed only by presbyters, then Cedd was made a bishop by presbyters, which is all that our adversaries would have. But what if Cedd was or-

[e] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 23. p. 226. p. 128.
[f] Ibid. p. 227. p. 128.
[g] Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 28. p. 247. p. 137.
[h] Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 3. pp. 261–268. pp. 143–146.
[i] Ib. l. 3. c. 25. p. 234. p. 132.
[k] See Jamieson ibid. chap. 5. p. 88, &c.

dained by no other than bishops? Then Bede's saying any one was ordained by the Scots, will not argue that he was ordained by Scottish presbyters; nay, it will argue the contrary, unless our adversaries can bring at least one instance of a Scottish ordination by presbyters.

§. 5. But how far they are mistaken in Cedd's ordination, it will sufficiently appear in the process of the East Saxons' conversion. For when Cedd, and another presbyter whom Oswy sent with him, had gone over all the countries, and gathered a great congregation unto the Lord, saith Bede, [l] it happened once that Cedd returned home into Northumbria, and came to 118
the church of Lindisfarn to speak with Finan the bishop. Which Finan, when he found that the work of the gospel had prospered with him, made him bishop of the nation of the East Saxons, "[m] having called to himself two other bishops for the ministry of ordination." So that Finan, and those two other bishops, (three in all, according to the Nicene canon,) were those Scots by whom Cedd was ordained, as [n] Bede saith elsewhere. This deserves to be taken notice of by our adversaries, and considered in other places where Bede speaks of Scottish ordinations: they may see that if he had explained himself, which he could not foresee would be necessary, his words, where he speaks of Scots that ordained, were to be understood of no other ordainers but bishops. And for such as were ordained bishops by them, it appears what kind of bishops they were, by that power which they received and exercised. For thus he [o] saith; when Cedd had received [p] the degree of episcopacy, 119
he returned to his province, where [q] at London he

[l] Bed. ib. l. 3. c. 22. p. 222. p. 127.
[m] Ibid. p. 223. p. 127.
[n] Ibid. cap. 25. p. 234. p. 132.
[o] Ibid. cap. 22. p. 223. p. 127.
[p] Jamieson ibid. ch. 5. p. 85. See ch. 5. §. 6. p. 108. note [h], &c.
[q] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 26. p. 239. p. 134.

had his see; and "fulfilling the work he had begun, with greater authority," (greater than what he had before when he was a presbyter only; for, as it follows, he did now what he could not do before,) "[r] he made churches in several places, he ordained priests and deacons to help him in the word of faith, and in the ministry of baptizing." For that ministry of the word and sacraments, priests and deacons might suffice, though not for the before mentioned ministry of ordination. Farther, [s] Bede tells us, that when one lived in unlawful marriage, and the bishop could not hinder him, nor mend him, he excommunicated him, and commanded all that would hear him, not to enter into the man's house, or to eat of his meat. To shew what he means by saying "all that would hear him," Bede addeth, that the king made light of this command, and being invited, went and dined with the excommunicated person; but he dearly paid for his
120 dinner, being killed by him before he went out of the house.

§. 6. Having shewn that this Cedd had a brother, who was also a bishop, and having met with a doubt that hath been raised upon a passage in Bede, which I have quoted concerning his ordination; to illustrate that passage, I shall speak of this matter more particularly, though it doth not properly belong to my business. The person that I spoke of was Chad, who was ordained to be bishop of York; but left it to Wilfrid, and was afterwards [t] bishop of Lichfield, where he was more famously known by being the founder of that see. Bede [u] saith of this Chad, that when king Oswy

[r] Ibid. cap. 22. p. 223. p. 127.
[s] Ibid. p. 224. p. 127.
[t] Bed. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 3. p. 261. p. 144. See note on Bede ibid. p. 144. Godwin. de Præsul. Angliæ, p. 307.
[u] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 28. p. 247. p. 137. Jamieson ibid. ch. 11. p. 226.

had designed him to be bishop of York, he went first into Kent, to be ordained by Deusdedit, archbishop of Canterbury. But finding that he was dead before his coming thither, he went to Wini, who was then bishop of Winchester. And that Wini consecrated him bishop, "taking in two British bishops to assist him in the ordination; which British bishops kept Easter, not according to the canonical manner, from the four- 121
teenth to the one and twentieth moon; for except that Wini there was not then any bishop canonically ordained in all Britain." Here Bede saith that Chad was made bishop by three of the same order; namely, one Saxon bishop, that had been ordained in France, and two British bishops, whom he got to assist him. This was while the British Church was not in communion with the Roman, and therefore I might have [x] produced it as an instance of the British way of Church government and ordination. But I did not take all the instances I could find, but as many as I thought were sufficient. They that [y] oppose the primitive government by bishops with that monkish dream of Kelledees, or Culdees, being more to seek for proofs than I am, [z] have hoped to do some service to their cause with the last words of this quotation: as if, because the Scottish bishops are said to have been ordained not canonically, therefore it must be thought that they were ordained by only presbyters. 122
Indeed if they had been so, that had been uncanonical beyond all example.

§. 7. But then what were those British bishops whom Wini called in to assist him at this ordination?

[x] Chap. 3. §. 7. and 9. pp. 77–80.

[y] Chap. 7. §. 1, &c. p. 134, &c.

[z] Selden Præf. p. x. ante Twysden. Hist. Angl. Scriptor. Decem.

were they uncanonical upon the same account of their being ordained by only presbyters? was the British Church government by Culdees too? that is news concerning which the prophet Hector had no revelation. Or was the [a] Saxon bishop of Dunwich, who was then living, and, for aught that appears, then in Britain, ordained by only presbyters, and therefore ordained not canonically? Perhaps he was not thought of by them that made this allegation: and therefore I shall shew that he was then living, and that he had been ordained by an archbishop of Canterbury, and yet he was not ordained canonically. The consequence is plain: for if the ordinations of all the bishops then in Britain, except Wini, were accounted by Bede to be
123 uncanonical, he must mean it of the British and Saxon bishops, as well as the Scots. And therefore it cannot be proved from the place of Bede, that the Scottish ordinations were only by presbyters, unless the British and Saxon ordinations were so too. So that either this place proves too much, or else it makes nothing for their purpose.

§. 8. But to put this matter out of dispute, I shall shew plainly what it was that was accounted uncanonical in all their ordinations; and what it was that Bede intended in this place, which indeed particularly concerned the British and Scottish Churches.

First, then, it was accounted an uncanonical ordination of a bishop that was made by fewer than three bishops. It was particularly against the [b] fourth canon of the first Nicene council; the observation whereof had been often enjoined by other councils, and it was particularly given in charge by pope Gregory, in his

[a] See §. 8. p. 124.

[b] Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 3. p. 95. Bevereg. Pandect. Canon. tom. 1. p. 63. Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church, b. 2. ch. 11. s. 4.

answers to Austin the monk, which [c] Bede having brought into his History, might well refer to, in delivering this as both his judgment, and Chad's also 124
before him. They acknowledging the pope as the head of their communion, might very well judge an ordination of a bishop uncanonical, if it were made by fewer bishops than were required by that canon. And yet, as [d] it appears by sundry instances, the British and Scottish bishops were many of them ordained only by one bishop. They might be all so at that time. And whereas, beside Wini, there was then but one Saxon bishop; it appears that he was ordained in like manner. That [e] Saxon bishop was Brightgils, surnamed Boniface, bishop of the East Angles, whose see was at Domoceaster, or Dunwich, from whence it is since removed to Norwich. This Boniface, being a Kentish man, was [f] ordained bishop by Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury, and was bishop of Dunwich, as [f] Bede tells us, seventeen years; then he died about the time of Theodore's coming over into England, which was, as [g] Bede tells us, in the year 669, May 27. But Chad's ordination was soon after the death of archbishop 125
Deusdedit, which was in the year 664, July 28, as [h] Bede also tells us, which was at least four years before the coming of Theodore. And therefore Boniface was living at the time of Chad's ordination, and was then a bishop; though in Chad's or Bede's judgment, he was not ordained canonically, as appears by those words, that not one in all Britain was so at that time except Wini. To judge what the fault was in Boni-

[c] Bed. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 27. p. 85. p. 64.

[d] Usher's Discourse of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British, ch. 8. p. 78.

[e] See §. 7. p. 122.

[f] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 20. p. 217. p. 125.

[g] Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 2. p. 258. p. 142.

[h] Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 1. p. 253. p. 141.

face's ordination, it will not be difficult, if we consider that his ordainer, archbishop Honorius, had at that time no more but one bishop under him, that was [i] Ithamar, bishop of Rochester. So that, without fetching a bishop out of France, which was unusual, he could not have the number prescribed by the canon to assist him; and therefore it is most probable that in ordaining of Boniface he had no assistance at all, but did the work singly by himself; which was against the canons that were then in force in the Saxon Church.

126 But for Wini, [k] Bede tells us, he was ordained in France, where were bishops enough to ordain him according to the canon: and there is no reason to doubt that they observed the canons in his ordination.

§. 9. But that which more particularly concerns the case in Bede, and the matter before us, is the irregularity of ordination by bishops that were in schism. That was provided against by the [l] eighth canon of the first Nicene council; which was particularly applied to the British and Scottish bishops, by archbishop Theodore, in the eightieth of his Capitula, in [m] these words; "They which have been ordained by the bishops of the Scots or Britons, who are not united to the catholic Church in their Easter and their tonsure, let them be confirmed again by a catholic bishop, with imposition of hands." Bede might well have this canon in his eye when he writ this, being led to it by

[i] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 14. p. 198. p. 117.

[k] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 177. p. 110.

[l] Bevereg. ibid. tom. 1. p. 68. tom. 2. Annot. p. 67, &c. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 94.

[m] Concil. tom. 6. col. 1877. edit. Labb. 'Qui ordinati sunt a Scotorum aut Britonum episcopis, qui in pascha et in tonsura adunati ecclesiæ catholicæ non sunt, iterum ab episcopo catholico manus impositione confirmentur.' Vide Spelman. Concil. tom. 1. p. 329. Wilkins, Concil. tom. 1. p. 170. Alford. Annal. tom. 3. A.D. 816. n. 17. Jamieson ibid. chap. 11. p. 233, &c.

the great veneration that he had for that archbishop; and it appears that he thought of it by the [n] consequence of his writing in the place before mentioned, if the word 'for' have any respect to that which went immediately before it. It further appears by [o] that passage in his History, where, speaking of the archiepiscopal visitation of Theodore, who being made archbishop by the pope, was sure to take all advantage against them that were not in his communion, Bede saith, that this Theodore, coming to Chad, told him, that he was [p] not rightly consecrated; I suppose, because British bishops had a hand in his consecration; and yet, being unwilling to let him lay down his bishopric, [q] he "anew consummated his ordination the catholic way." What was that way of consummating his ordination? It was, saith Bede, by "imposition of hands by a catholic bishop." Which was the same way that he prescribed, as hath been shewn out of his Capitula, and the same that was ordered by the Nicene canon above mentioned. 127

§. 10. But to put this matter quite out of doubt, I shall set down the same things as they are related by [r] Stephen Heddius, who was chaplain to Wilfrid, and writ an account of his life. He saith, that after Colman's departure, the kings of Northumbria would have Wilfrid be their bishop in his stead. So Wilfrid being elected into the place, desired the kings to give him leave to go into France for his ordination. His words [s] were these; "It is to be considered how I may 128

[n] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 28. p. 247. p. 137. See §. 6. p. 120, and note [u].

[o] Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 2. p. 259. p. 143.

[p] Ibid. 'Non fuisse rite consecratum.'

[q] Bed. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 2. p. 260. p. 143.

[r] Bed. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 2. p. 259. p. 143. mentions this Heddi.

[s] Steph. Hedd. in Vita Wilfrid. cap. 12. in Mabillon. ibid. sæc. 4. part. 1. p. 683. in Galei Hist. Brit. ibid. tom. 1. p. 57.

come to the episcopal degree without the offence of any catholic man: for there are here in Britain many bishops, of whom I would not accuse any one; though in truth I know [t] that they are either 'quartadecimani,' as the Britons and Scots, or they are such as have been ordained by them, and that the apostolic see hath neither received them into communion, nor them that consent to schismatics." (Here is a plain reason why
129 Bede said, "except that Wini there was not then any bishop canonically ordained in all Britain;" Wilfrid had said the same thing before him, in other words.) "And therefore," saith he, "I desire you to send me into France, where there live many catholic bishops, that I may be made bishop without any offence of the apostolic see." Upon this he had leave, and so went into France. But when he did not return so soon as was expected, king Oswin let another intrude into his see, "[u] being thereunto moved by them who sided with the 'quartadecimani' against the rule of the apostolic see." And they ordained the servant of God, Ceadda, a most religious and admirable doctor that came out of Ireland; and without Wilfrid's knowledge they put him into the episcopal see of the city of York, "unlearnedly and against the canons." After this, Heddius tells how Wilfrid, having been ordained in France, came and lived three years at [v] Ripon: and

[t] 'Quod aut XIV. anni sunt, ut Britones et Scoti, ab illis sunt ordinati.' In Mabillonii et Galei ibid. Thus the MS. copy in that noble library of sir J. Cotton, and out of it bishop Usher, in his Discourse of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and Britons, chap. 10. p. 106. note [d]. I wonder that most learned man did not hit on the true reading; 'Quod aut quartadecimani sunt, ut Britones et Scoti, aut ab illis sunt ordinati.'

[u] Ibid. cap. 14. in Mabillon. ibid. p. 685. et Galei ibid. p. 58, &c. 'Ab his qui quartadecimanam partem contra apostolicæ sedis regulam sibi elegerunt.'

[v] Vide Bed. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 20. p. 442. cap. 19. p. 206. Append. p. 751. Tanner ib. under Wilfridus.

how after those three years Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, came thither to York in visitation, "bringing with him the statutes of the apostolic see," from 130
which he was sent. And at his first coming into that country, saith [w] Heddius, he was informed by true witnesses of a thing that was ill done against the canons; that a bishop, robber like, had presumed to catch up the see of another bishop: (here was another uncanonicalness which was particularly in Chad's ordination, that he intruded into a see, into which another had been elected:) and Theodore, taking it heinously, ordered bishop Ceadda to be deposed from the see which was not his. But, saith [x] Heddius, the true and most meek servant of God, "then fully understanding his sin," both in his misordination, "being ordained by quartadecimani," and in his intrusion "into another man's see," humbly confessed and made amends, according to the judgment of the bishops; and with his consent put in bishop Wilfrid into his own see of the city of York; and afterward Wilfrid got Lichfield for him. Thus far Heddius. Out of whose relation the reader may easily see what the uncanonicalness was 131
that Bede speaks of; and what need there was of a good imagination to find out any tolerable colour for presbyterian ordination in his writings.

§. 11. There is evidence enough on the contrary, that these Scottish ordinations were by bishops. I have shewn that in some places we are told so expressly; where it is [y] said, that such and such were ordained by "the metropolitan bishop," together with "other bishops"

[w] Heddii ib. c. 15. in Mabill. ibid. p. 685. et Galei ibid. p. 59. 'Rem contra canones male gestam a veris testibus audivit.'

[x] Ibid. in Mabillon. et Galei ibid. 'Tunc peccatum ordinandi a quartadecimanis in sedem alterius plene intelligens.'

[y] §. 5. p. 118. The metropolitan was Finan of Northumbria.

that were "called for the ministry of ordination." I have [z] shewn that those are to explain other places, where we read of Scots ordaining, without express mention of their office or quality. I have shewn that Bede uses those very words where he speaks of episcopal ordination.

The clearing of this not only proves what we affirm, but takes away all occasion from the adversary. For they that write on the other hand sufficiently shew that it is from those words of 'Scots ordaining,' that they
132 have all the colour that they pretend from antiquity to prove that ever there was in these Churches an "ordination by presbyters only."

And that these whom I have mentioned, were not only called bishops, but were really such as are settled now by law in these Churches, I have shewn by their doing those acts which they never did before they were made bishops, and which no man hath yet shewn (or I believe can shew) have been done by any mere presbyter: namely, their forming Churches, their ordaining of bishops, priests, and deacons, their exercising an authority over the inferior clergy, their excommunicating of offenders, their commanding obedience to their censures. I have shewn that all these powers were exercised by those bishops that were of Scottish ordination. And I am well assured there can be no instance given of the like things performed in these Churches by any that were not really bishops. So that, for aught that appears hitherto, I have proved
133 that which I undertook; namely that the ancient and primitive bishops were no other than such as are now established by law in these kingdoms.

[z] §. 4. p. 117.

CHAP. VII.

A CONFUTATION OF THAT OPINION, THAT BEFORE THERE WERE BISHOPS IN SCOTLAND, THAT CHURCH WAS GOVERNED BY A SORT OF MONKS, CALLED CULDEES, THAT WERE ONLY PRESBYTERS.

HAVING given as full an account of the ancient government of these Churches as I could gather out of the writers that lived in those times, I should not need to add any thing more, if it were not for that [a] monkish dream of an ancient Church government in Scotland by presbyters. This conceit, I suppose, might proceed from a mistake of a passage or two in Bede; whereof one hath been [b] considered, the other I shall give account of afterwards. The first author of it was one that was much given to such things, John of Fordon, who lived in the fourteenth century, and then writ the [c] Scotichronicon; a book 134
that hath not been thought worth the [d] printing. Out of two or three lines of this book there hath been a formal story made up by [e] others, which hath been of great use to them that write against episcopacy, and especially of late to Mr. Baxter[f], who hath taken occasion from hence to affirm as undoubted truth divers things that never were in the world.

§. 1. 1. He tells us of a sort of men called Culdees,

[a] See §. 4. p. 147. and note [u]. notes, &c.

[b] Chap. 4. §. 2. p. 84. Bedæ ibid. lib. 1. cap. 13, &c. as there quoted.

[c] Scotichron. endeth an. 1360, saith Selden, Præf. ad Twysden. Hist. Angl. Decem Script. p. xix. See Preface, p. xxvi, and

[d] Nicolson's Scottish Historical Library, part 2. p. 24. Mackenzie ibid. p. 36.

[e] Major, Boethius, Lesley, Buchanan, Demster, &c.

[f] See his Treatise on Episcopacy, c. 25. p. 224.

that "first guided the affairs of religion in Scotland long before the coming of Palladius;" and yet "were no bishops," but "monks and presbyters."

2. He tells us, that these Culdees chose some few among themselves "to be as governors to the rest," whom writers called 'Scotorum episcopos,' the bishops of the Scots. (But, by the way, the eldest of these writers was that monk of Fordon, that lived above a thousand years after.)

3. He tells us, that these new-found bishops of the
135 Scots had only the name of bishops, about which he will not contend with us, (a great favour.)

4. He says, that afterward Palladius began "a higher sort of bishops, but the Culdees still kept up the greater part against him."

5. He says that "Columbanus's monastery in the Isle of Hy restored the Culdees' strength;" and the "monks out of that island were the most prevailing clergy of Scotland; who had no proper episcopal ordination," but "bare election and ordination of presbyters."

§. 2. To shew what little truth there is in all these late fancies, I think there needs not be said any more than I have said already, and proved out of the most ancient and authentic writers. From them I have shewn, that before [g] Palladius's time there were no Christians in Scotland, nor no Scots there a long while after; that his mission was into Ireland, and not into Scotland; and that we have no assurance that ever he came into either of them; much less that he made any bishop there, or any Christian: likewise that
136 [h] Columba found no Culdees at Hy, nor no Christians; and that he and his monks, who were the only clergy in that part of Scotland where he had to do, knew no

[g] See ch. 4. §. 2. p. 84, &c.
[h] Chap. 5. §. 1. p. 98, &c. §. 2. p. 101, &c.

other ordination but episcopal, and had a bishop among them for that purpose.

These things being proved out of all the writers that we have of those times, it appears that all those assertions to the contrary have no real foundation, but are in truth, and ought to be considered by learned men, as the figments of those idle brains that brought romances into Church history.

But because some are not willing to be beat out of any error, but will rather catch up any thing to defend it that cometh in their way, I shall take the pains for their sakes (though I know no need otherwise) to search into the bottom of this matter. I shall shew,

1. [i] That the Culdees are not mentioned by any writer that lived within five hundred years of Palladius's time, nor are not said to have been in his age, by any that lived within a thousand years after him. 137

2. [k] That monkery was not yet in the world, much less in this island, at that time from which they bring down these Culdees.

3. [l] That the first monks in Scotland were of no other sort than those in France, and other countries, where the Church was wholly governed by bishops.

4. [m] That commonly their monasteries were the schools and universities of those times, where youth were brought up and fitted to be put into holy orders; and then being chosen and recommended by their superiors, were ordained by proper bishops; whether fetched from abroad, or residing in the monastery for that purpose.

5. [n] That Columba found nothing in Scotland to be restored, as they imagine; but began a conversion

[i] See §. 3. p. 138, &c.
[k] §. 4. p. 145, &c.
[l] §. 5. p. 152, &c.
[m] §. 7. p. 160, &c.
[n] §. 9. p. 164, &c. and p. 166. note [t].

there, and founded a monastery to carry it on, where his monks (as many as took orders) were ordained by bishops properly so called, as the monks were in all other countries.

138 [o] Having proved these five things, which are enough to overthrow all those fancies, I shall further explain that place in Bede, upon a mistake whereof, I believe, this whole fabric was raised by late monkish historians.

§. 3. First, to shew that there is no truth in all that scheme of an ancient Church government in Scotland, which is imagined to have been in a sort of presbyters called [p] Culdees; I am to shew what those Culdees were, and that they were men of another age, long after the time of Palladius.

What they were, their name sufficiently sheweth. For they were called [q] 'Kelledei,' or in the old Scotch, 'Kyldees,' (as I suppose) from Cylle, which signifies a cell, as well in the Welsh or old British tongue, as in the Scottish or Irish. From hence by [r] addition of Tee (or Dee in composition) which signifies a house, the word Kildee signifies a house of such cells. And [s] thus as Columba was called by the Irish [t] 'Columbcylle;'
139 that is, Columb of the cell; so all those that lived in such kind of houses might be, and I doubt not were, called by their names with the addition of Kyldee, that is, such a one of the cell-house.

As for the word 'Culdee,' it is of a much later edition. I do not remember that I have read it in any

[o] §. 10. p. 172, &c.

[p] Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. lvi. and notes.

[q] Jamieson ibid. ch. 1. p. 3. ch. 15. p. 354, &c.

[r] As 'mynach' being a 'monk,' 'mynachdee' is a 'monastery,' in the Welsh language.

[s] Jamieson ibid. chap. 15. p. 355.

[t] Bed. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 10. p. 402. cap. 9. p. 191. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 687. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 359.

author before the time of [u] Giraldus Cambrensis. [x] Then it was a very usual thing to find out Latin derivations for those words of which men did not know the original. And thus the Kyldees or Kylledei came to be called 'Culdei' or 'Colidei;' that is, the [y] worshippers of God; being such as spent their whole time, or a great part of it, in devotion. Either way it appears that they were monks, and that I know will be easily granted me.

But then the question is, concerning their antiquity. And for this, we must not look so high as any writer I have mentioned in my [yy] history of Bishops. My latest authors were Bede and Nennius. But Bede writ in the year 730, and [z] Selden, who is (for aught I know) the first that brought this instance of the Culdees into this 140
controversy, yet [zz] acknowledgeth that in Bede there is no mention of them. Nor are they mentioned in [a] Nennius, who writ about one hundred and twenty years after. I should add they are not mentioned for some hundreds of years after Bede: but because I may be mistaken, I shall name all those places where I find they are mentioned by any writer, till within these two hundred years.

First in Scotland [b] we read of no Culdees that ever were at Hy, or in any other place where the Scots anciently dwelt. But as oft as they are mentioned, we find them still at [c] St. Andrew's, which was in the country of the South Picts; and they are not said to have been there, [d] till it had been many years the see

[u] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 637. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 333.

[x] Jamieson ibid. ch. 1. p. 3.

[y] Ibid. ch. 2. p. 29. ch. 3. p. 35, and note; ch. 7. p. 136, and note; ch. 10. p. 213. See also ibid. p. 198, and compare with Usher's Discourse ibid.

[yy] Chap. 3—6. pp. 71—133.

[z] See chap. 6. §. 6. p. 121.

[zz] Selden in Twysd. ib. p. viii.

[a] See Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 4. p. 210. note [t].

[b] Jamieson ibid. ch. 15. p. 348, &c.

[c] Ibid. ch. 7. p. 145, &c.

[d] Ibid. ch. 6. p. 105, &c.

of a diocesan bishop. The see was removed hither from Abernethy, as the [e] Scottish historians tell us, by Kenneth II., who died in the year 854.

About a hundred years after this, namely in the
141 year 943, Constantine the Third, king of the Scots in Scotland, [f] is said to have left his kingdom, and become abbot of the Kildees, or Killidees of St. Andrew's.

In the year 1108, [g] Turgot, prior of Durham, was made bishop of St. Andrew's, and continued seven years. "In his days all the right of the Keledei throughout the whole kingdom of Scotland passed into the bishopric of St. Andrew's." This is taken by [h] Mr. Selden out of Durham history, which he saith is much later than Turgot's time. But whereas Mr. Selden fancies strange things of that 'right of the Keldees' here mentioned, I guess [i] it might be the right of confirming the elections of all the bishops in Scotland. This had been done by them as being the primate's dean and chapter; but was now taken from them, and performed by the primate himself. For this interpretation, I think there is ground enough in the account that [k] a Culdee of St. Andrew's has given of the foundation of his Church; where he says, that the archbishopric of all Scotland belongs to
142 that city, and that no bishop in Scotland ought to be ordained without the counsel of the seniors of that place. But this by the way.

[e] Buchanan. Rer. Scot. lib. 6. p. 339.

[f] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 659. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 346. from the Scottish Chron. Jamieson ibid. ch. 7. p. 148.

[g] Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. lvi. Jamieson ibid. ch. 15. fol. 60. l. 20. Oper. tom. 1. p. 93. See Keith's Catalogue of the Bishops of Scotland, p. 3, &c.

[h] Præf. ad Twysden. Hist. Angl. Decem Script. p. vii. Usser. de Primord. Addend. p. 1032. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. c. 15. p. 346.

[i] Jamieson ibid. ch. 15. p. 341, &c.

[k] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 651. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 342.

[l] In the year 1272, the Keldees of St. Andrew's are mentioned by Silegrave in his Catalogue of the religious houses in Britain.

[m] In the year 1297, November the third, the canons of St. Andrew's elected William Lamberton bishop; the Keldees there opposed the election, and their provost Aulmin appealed to the pope: but the pope approved the election, and so for the future the Keldees lost all their right they had before, saith our author, meaning (I suppose) all their right of electing the archbishop, which belonging to them before, as being the dean and chapter of that see, (as the abbots and monks of St. Austin's were at Canterbury,) after this, in their place at St. Andrew's there were brought in canon regulars, to whose prior was given the honour of preceding all the abbots of Scotland, that is, as I take it, they were made the primate's dean and chapter for the 143 future. [n] This is all the credible account that I can find of any Culdees in Scotland.

In [o] Ireland we read of Culdees at Armagh, who seem in like manner to have been anciently the dean and chapter of that Church: but afterward they also were fain to give place to monks of a later institution, and yet were suffered to continue in the inferior quality of vicars choral. So [p] bishop Usher saith, the vicars choral of Armagh, (and the like in the [collegiate] Church of Cluanynish were called 'Colidei' till our remembrance; and their chief, who was called their 'prior,' served in the place of præcentor. [q] Bishop Usher also produces a sentence that was passed by an archbi-

[l] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 659. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 346. Tanner. ibid. under Silegrave.

[m] Usser. ibid. Jamieson ibid. ch. 13. p. 289.

[n] Jamieson ibid. chap. 6. p. 105, &c., shews the contrary.

[o] Ibid. ch. 15. pp. 354. 357.

[p] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p.637. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. p.333.

[q] Usser. ibid.

shop of Armagh, in the year 1445, and that (as it is said in the sentence itself), upon search of the ancient chronologies of the holy fathers, and of the year-books of the archbishops, his predecessors; that the office of a prior, or an inferior Colidee, should not be accounted a
144 cure of souls; but that one might hold any benefice with one of these offices, provided that he kept his due residence in the Church of Armagh.

Bishop [r] Usher hath also a pope's brief that passed in the year 1447, containing, that the priory of the college of secular priests, called Colidei, was not a benefice, but a simple office, and sinecure.

Besides these we read of no other Culdees, but those mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis, who lived about the year 1200. He [s] speaks of the Colidei in Bardsey, a little island in North Wales, who were the most religious old monks in his age; and also [t] speaks of the like in an island in Tipperary in Ireland, who there devoutly served in the chapel.

These are all the writers in whom we have any mention of the Culdees; and this is all that I can find of them in any author, before the year of Christ 1500, that is, till about a thousand years after the death of
145 Palladius. And as none of these authors makes them live near his time, much less (as some would have it) long before his coming into Scotland: so neither does any of them speak of their guiding the affairs of religion, either there, or in those other countries where they lived. If they did, we might expect it would have been rather in Ireland than any where else; for

[r] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 637. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 333.

[s] Girald. Itin. Cambr. lib. 2. cap. 6. in Camden. Anglica, &c. p. 865.

[t] Girald. Topogr. Hibern. lib. 2. cap. 4. in Camden. ibid. p. 716. See p. 139. note [u]. Usser. ibid. Jamieson ibid. chap. 15. p. 358.

there they made the greatest figure; but there is nothing said of their governing there by any of these authors. So that hitherto we have nothing to prove either their antiquity or their authority in the Church.

§. 4. But they that assert these things of the Culdees have authors no doubt for as much as they tell us concerning them. They have authors indeed for as much as concerns our question, but they are such kind of authors as are less to be believed than they themselves. For who would not take Mr. Selden's bare word for things that passed in ancient times, before all them that he quotes in any place where he writes on this subject? They were near as late writers as him- 146
self, and knew less of the ancients than he did. I may reasonably say he knew four books to one that they knew. And he knew this so well, that he would never have stooped to such authors, but that in all his reading, he had no other to defend a cause that he was resolved to maintain. Mr. Selden very well knew that in this learned age no wise man will believe any thing of ancient times, but what he sees proved out of very good authors. For want of such, he took the monk of Fordon, and such others, which though they were of no authority, yet for the cause that he had undertaken they were the best that could be had.

But his authors, for their parts, were men that had no such awe upon them. They were secured against their readers by the gross darkness in which they lived; and therefore, without the assistance of books, they could tell of any thing that passed a hundred years before they were born, as well as if it had happened within their own knowledge. If that was a happiness 147
of theirs, that they could so easily impose on their readers, much good may it do them that have readers

that will be satisfied with any thing that cometh from such authors.

To consider them particularly, I am to begin with John of Fordon before mentioned; whom, till I see an ancienter author, I shall take to be the first that mentions any Church government in Scotland, before episcopacy.

This dreaming monk, among other strange things, was pleased to discover this, for the honour of his order no doubt, that "[u] before the coming of Palladius, the Scots were taught and governed by monks or priests only," therein "following the way of the primitive Church." For making the Scots to have been Christians before the coming of Palladius, he might have some kind of colour from those words of Bede before mentioned, where he saith, that Palladius "was sent to the Scots that believed in Christ." It appears that he
148 understood from those words of Bede, that before the coming of Palladius into Scotland, there were some of that nation that were Christians, though not the body of the nation. And that these Christians were taught and governed by monks or priests only, and that this was the way of the primitive Church.

These things might be true, for aught any man knew that understood so little of antiquity as they did that lived in those days. Nay, who could tell then but that the Scots were seated in this island long before Christ's time? though now we know there were none till some ages after the death of Palladius. But then the contrary was believed, as appears from that monkish historian.

[u] Scotichron. lib. 3. cap. 8. in Galei Hist. Brit. Script. xv. tom. 1. p. 625. Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 800. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 417. See Preface, p. 1. ch. 2. §. 4. p. 59. ch. 4. §. 2. p. 86. Jamieson ib. ch. 5. p. 97, &c.

Therefore it is not strange to find the same thing said again by John Major, the Sorbonist. For he also [x] saith, "before the coming of Palladius hither, the Scots were taught by priests and monks without bishops." By saying 'hither,' he meant into Scotland; where as yet there were no Scots inhabiting, and whi- 149
ther Palladius was not sent, and it is a chance if ever he came thither. But what was all this to Fordon, or Major? One writ what came in his head, and for aught the other could tell, it might be true.

But then next comes Hector Boethius, who not only avers the same thing that those authors had said, without naming them; but like Hector himself, he ventures further into the dark, and charges beyond all his company. He was the first, for aught I know, that found that these priests and monks were Culdees, whom he makes to have been there in Scotland, above 150 years before there were Christians in that country. These are his words, by which learned men will soon judge of his authority; speaking of the times of Decius and Aurelian, the persecuting emperors, [y] saith he, "our people began at that time," that is, about the year 263, saith [z] Blondel, "most studiously to embrace the doctrine of Christ," which was there at that time for aught he knew, "and this they did by the conduct 150
and authority of certain monks, who, because they applied themselves diligently to preaching, and were frequent in prayers, were called by the inhabitants 'Cultores Dei:' and that name took so among the common people," who it seems all understood Latin, "that all priests, till almost our times, were commonly

[x] Major. de Gestis Scotorum, lib. 2. cap. 2. fol. 23. a.

[y] Hect. Boeth. Scot. Hist. lib. 6. fol. 95. lin. 39, &c. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 636. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 332.

[z] Blond. Apol. pro Hieron. p. 315.

called 'Culdei,' that is, 'Cultores Dei,' without any distinction." He goeth on, and tells us more news; which, I think, he was the first that discovered. He saith, "they chose by common vote among themselves a chief priest, who had power in things belonging to God; and he for many years after was called 'bishop of the Scots, as," saith he, "it is delivered in our annals." The same thing he saith again in [a] another place, where he hath all the rest that is quoted from him; "that Palladius was the first of all that were in holy magistracy among the Scots, being created by the pope; whereas before, by the votes of the people, chief priests were taken out of the monks and Cul-
151 dees." This is all that I know he saith of this matter. For the proof that he makes, by the Scots' Annals here mentioned, he can mean no ancienter than those of archdeacon [b] Veremundus; for he acknowledges him, in his Preface, to be the eldest that he had seen of the Scottish writers. But [c] Veremundus lived under Malcolm the Third, in times of very gross ignorance: so that unless he could see the further for being so much in the dark, he could tell us little of things eight hundred years before his time.

The best is, that Hector had no need of his, or any other testimony; for he could not only make stories, but authors too when he pleased. And why not? as well as [d] he could make a bishop of St. Alban's cloak. It was indeed [e] our Geoffrey of Monmouth that first

[a] Hect. Boeth. ibid. lib. 7. fol. 133. lin. 2. Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 800. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 417.

[b] Preface, p. xxvi. and notes.

[c] Nicolson observes, that Lloyd here allows the existence of Veremundus: see last note [b].

[d] Hect. Boeth. lib. 6. fol. 102. lin. 9, &c. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 641. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 335.

[e] Usser. de Primord. cap. 7. pp. 151. 156. 159. cap. 15. p. 641. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 78. 81. 84. 335. Camden's Britannia, vol. 2. p. 490. in the Additions by Gough.

turned the cloak into a man, and so prepared it for Hector's ordination. The word 'amphibalus,' which is Latin for a 'shag-cloak,' and was used in that sense in the Legend of St. Alban, our Geoffrey had the luck to mistake for a proper name, and so joined this 'Amphi- 152
balus' with [f] St. Alban as his fellow-martyr. Man or cloak, Hector brings this 'Amphibalus' into Scotland to king Crathlint, and there ordains it first bishop [g] of the Isle of Man, and [h] seats his Culdees there with him; so that belike they were the dean and chapter to St. Alban's cloak. This was Hector's own invention, unless any one can find it in Veremundus, whom he is pleased to quote for it. He tells us this happened at the time when Constantius, the father of Constantine, cruelly persecuted the Christians in Britain; who never persecuted them in his life, as [i] all those writers say that lived with him.

§. 5. To prove Hector Boethius a man of no credit is needless, when so many [k] have done it to my hand; and therefore I forbear to shew it in other instances.

But of that which he says of Church government in Scotland, by a sort of monks called Culdees in those early times, (a thing which Mr. Selden was pleased to vouch, [l] chiefly upon the authority of this writer,) as 153
there is no ground for it in any ancienter historian, so it will be sufficiently disproved by shewing that there were no monks of any sort in that age in which he places his Culdees.

[f] Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 2. pp. 70–74.

[g] Usser. de Primord. Index Chronolog. p. 1082. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. p. 510. col. 2. See p. 151. §. 4. note [d].

[h] So likewise Buchanan. Rer. Scot. lib. 4. fol. 43. lin. 10. in Oper. tom. 1. p. 69.

[i] See before, ch. 2. §. 1. p. 49.

[k] See Voss. de Hist. Latinis, lib. 3. cap. 13. p. 213. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 5. p. 252. note [c], &c.

[l] Selden. in Twysden. ibid. vi.

That indeed was it that stuck with [m]Dempster the Jesuit, one that was as well inclined to believe a lie, as any man in his time; but this would not go down with him, though he had Hector's word for it: he could not believe there were monks under any of those emperors. For, saith [n]he, "at that time there were yet no monks in the western Church, nor there could be none, the monks' rule being formed long after." And therefore, saith Dempster, "it follows they were all canons regular:" which I would soon grant him, if I were not well assured that, 'at that time,' there were neither Scots nor Christians in that country. But if there were no monks, which he ingenuously confesses, that alone will suffice to prove, that what was said of the Culdees was a mere fable.

154 Now that there were no monks in that age, nor long after, for this we have more than Dempster's authority. [o]He says, "there were none in the western Church:" he might have said, there were none in the world: for monkery began in the [p]eastern parts, as all the ancients agree; and even there it was not till the time of Diocletian's persecution. From thence it was long ere it came over into Europe, saith [q]Sozomen. It was first brought to Rome by Athanasius, saith [r]Baronius; that is, Athanasius first gave [s]them at Rome the relation of St. Anthony, and of the other Egyptian monks.

[m] See Preface, p. xxxvi. Mackenzie, ibid. p. 41, denies that Dempster was a Jesuit.

[n] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 636. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 333.

[o] Usser. ibid.

[p] Stillingfleet's Answer to Cressy, ch. 3. §. 5. Works, vol. 5. p. 634. and his Antiquities ibid. ch. 4. p. 185. Camden. ibid. p. 457. vol. 2. p. 422.

[q] Sozom. Hist. Eccl. lib. 3. cap. 14. p. 116.

[r] Baron. ann. 340. n. 7.

[s] Particularly to Principia, saith Hierom. Ep. 16. in Oper. tom. 1. p. 120. tom. 4. epist. 96. col. 780.

But yet these were not presbyters, as the Culdees were said to have been, but mere laymen, and so were all the monks of those times. The first that brought monks into holy orders in Europe [t] was Eusebius of Vercelles, as also [u] Baronius observes.

From Italy, and particularly from Milan, it was that [v] St. Martin first brought that kind of life into France, where he seated himself [w] first near St. Hilary, bishop 155
of Poictiers, afterward he was made bishop of Tours, and then he founded a monastery about two miles from that city, saith [x] Sulpitius Severus, who describes his form of monastic life, and [y] saith, his monks increased to that number in his lifetime, that there were near two thousand of them at his funeral.

From this plantation of St. Martin's in France, no doubt it was that monkery came over first into these islands. We read indeed of [z] Pelagius, a lay-monk, that was a Briton, and of his disciple Cœlestius, a Scot, ([a] that is, an Irishman, for there were no Scots but what lived in Ireland in that age,) that these two were together at Rome, when their heresy began, which appears to have been about the year of Christ 400. Whether they entered into that [b] course of life at Rome, or whether they took it up in the way thither, or brought it with them out of Britain, we have no

[t] Ambr. lib. 10. epist. 82. in Oper. tom. 2. class. 1. ep. 63. cap. 66. col. 1038.

[u] Baron. ann. 328. n. 22. See Stillingfleet's Antiq. ibid. ch. 4. p. 206.

[v] Sulp. Sever. Vit. Martini, cap. 4. p. 467.

[w] Ibid. cap. 5. p. 468.

[x] Ibid. cap. 7. p. 470.

[y] Ibid. Epist. ad Bassulam. p. 510.

[z] Vide Tanner. ibid. under Pelagius; Cave Histor. Literar. tom. 1. pp. 381. 384. for the same and Cœlestius. Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 4. p. 183. note [y].

[a] Usser. de Primord. cap. 8. p. 210. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 113. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 4. p. 180, &c.

[b] Stillingfleet ibid. pp. 183—185.

information. But we read of no monks in these
156 islands, before the Saxons came hither, but what were set up by St. Martin's disciples. There seems to have been one monastery among the Britons in Canterbury; for there was in king Ethelbert's time, as [c] Bede tells us, an old church that was dedicated to St. Martin, while the Romans were yet living in Britain.

Among [d] the South Picts there was a [e] monastery of St. Martin's at Whitherne, founded by St. Ninian in honour of that saint; whom, though I do not believe to have been his uncle, (which [f] Hector saith, I suppose, to make him as near of kin to the saint as St. Patrick,) yet I believe from [g] a better authority, that Ninian both saw St. Martin, and lived with him, in his travel to Rome.

Lastly, among the Scots we cannot doubt the first monks were St. Martin's disciples, when we remember that his nephew St. Patrick was the apostle of that nation. Of which Patrick we are [h] told that his uncle gave him the monk's habit, and institutes to observe,
157 which he devoutly received and continued in them. So [i] Probus tells us, in the Life of St. Patrick, that he brought the Christian faith and monastic life into Ireland. From thence, as I have [k] shewn, and shall fur-

[c] Bed. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 26. p. 78. p. 61. et not. Usser. de Primord. cap. 6. p. 130. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 68. Camden. ibid. p. 239. vol. 1. p. 216. Additions, p. 237.

[d] Mackenzie ibid. p. 149. objects, that what bishop Lloyd has here said, is opposed to c. 1. §. 2, 3. pp. 3—7. as to the Picts.

[e] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 169. p. 106. See ch. 2. §. 2. p. 50. and notes.

[f] Hect. Boeth. lib. 7. fol. 119. lin. 14. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 662. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 347.

[g] Saxon. Chron. ann. 560. p. 511. post Bedæ ibid. Wheloc. edit. p. 25. Ingram's edit.

[h] Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 833. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 434.

[i] Stillingfleet ibid. pp. 185. 206, &c.

[k] See above, ch. 2. §. 6. p. 63. ch. 5. §. 1. p. 98.

ther shew, Columba brought it to the Isle of Hy, where, [l] among the Sunday offices in his monastery, there was wont to be a prayer in commemoration of St. Martin, which I take to be in memory of him as the founder of their order. And I am something confirmed in this opinion, by what I read in [m] Marianus Scotus, that the Irish monks at Cologne, in his time, made St. Martin the patron of their monastery.

I have carried the original of these monks as high as possibly I can, when I fetch their original from St. Martin, who died in the year 401. And yet to make them begin so late in these islands, is enough to shew that all that fabric of Church government by Culdees, who are placed as well before as after that time, hath no foundation in ancient history.

§. 6. This will farther appear, if we consider what 158
kind of men those monks were that first lived in these islands. If we look into their condition and course of life, it seems in all the monasteries of these islands to have been the same that was in the French monasteries, as might be expected from them that came all from the same original.

[n] For their way of life, it was at first designed for a retirement from the world. In that retirement they spent a great part of their time in prayer, and fasting, and spiritual exercises. The rest of their time they bestowed in such works as were necessary for their subsistence; as namely, in dressing their gardens, in providing their meat, drink and clothes. Afterward they turned over this bodily work to those of their own number, that were fit for nothing else; the better

[l] Adamnani de Columb. lib. 3. cap. 16. in Canisii ibid. p. 609. in Messingham. ibid. cap. 8. p. 174.

[m] Marian. Scot. anno 975. col. 421.

[n] Bingham ibid. book 7.

sort applying themselves to study, and that especially in the Scriptures. Thus monasteries came to be the [o] nurseries of religion and learning, out of which, as I
159 shall afterwards shew, the monks were taken into holy orders by the bishops, who had those plantations in or near their episcopal sees for this purpose.

For their offices of prayer in these monasteries, they made use of St. Martin's liturgy; namely, that which was called 'Gallorum Cursus;' this [p] was used among them every where in Britain. In Ireland [q] they had another liturgy, which was called 'Cursus Scotorum,' as bishop Usher [r] tells us from a manuscript of that age.

For their fasting, they observed the yearly time of Lent, and also the weekly fasts of Wednesday and Friday all the year, except betwixt Easter and Whitsuntide. This was the manner of Aidan and his disciples, as Bede particularly [s] informs us, who also gives a short account of all their other bodily and spiritual exercises.

These instances are enough to shew that the Scottish monks, of whom we are speaking, were like the other monks in France, and in other episcopal coun-
160 tries. I do not know wherein there can be shewn any difference between them.

§. 7. That these monasteries were the schools and universities of those times, wherein men were bred up

[o] Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 4. pp. 185, &c. 205, &c.

[p] Usher's Discourse of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British, chap. 4. p. 34. Consult Stillingfleet ib. ch. 4. pp. 216—237. Palmer's Origin. Liturgic. vol. 1. sect. 1. p. 176, &c. for this and the following note.

[q] Usser. de Primord. cap. 11. p. 343. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 185. compared with De Primord. cap. 17. pp. 840. 916. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 437. 474.

[r] Usher's Discourse of the Religion ibid. p. 31.

[s] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 5. et 25. pp. 170. 233. pp. 107. 131.

to religion and learning; this we find in many instances. The most remarkable is that of the monastery of [t] Bangor, among the Britons, in which there were, as [u] Bede tells us, above two thousand persons together in seven colleges, of which none had fewer than three hundred monks in it. "This we may believe by what we see," saith [v] an historian that writ four hundred years after Bede's time; "We see," saith he, "so many half-ruined walls of churches, so many windings of porticoes, so great a heap of ruins as you shall scarce meet with elsewhere." By these accounts it seems in its flourishing estate to have been not much less than one of our universities at this day.

In Ireland [w] almost all their clergy were elected out of such monasteries. Among these there was also a Bangor, which seems to have been a colony of the other. It seems to have been the more populous of the two, if that be true which [x] we read of Congal, who was abbot there, and who died in the year 601, that he had at once three thousand monks under him. In Laisrean's monastery in Leighlin, there were [y] fifteen hundred monks together; and yet there might probably be greater than either of these in that country. 161

[t] See note 8. pp. xxi—xxiv. in the Preface to Gunn's edition of Nennius. Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 4. p. 202. note [f].

[u] Bed. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 2. p. 113. p. 80. Usser. de Primord. cap. 6. p. 133. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 69. Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 4. p. 205. Camden. ib. p. 457. vol. 2. p. 422. Additions, p. 429, &c.

[v] Gulielm. Malmesburiensis, lib. 1. cap. 3. de Gestis Regum Angl. p. 9. a. lin. 3. p. 17. Usser. ibid. Camden. ibid.

[w] Girald. Camb. in Topograph. Hibern. dist. 3. cap. 29. p. 746. in Camden. Angl. &c. Camden. Brit. p. 767. vol. 3. p. 617. Additions, p. 622. See note [t], as above.

[x] Waræus de Scriptor. Hibern. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 14. Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. pp. 911. 917. 919. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 472. 475.

[y] Usher's Discourse of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British, chap. 9. p. 99. Usser. de Primord. c. 17. p. 936. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 485.

To these Irish monasteries there went many of the [z] first Saxon Christians, as well of the nobility as of the commonalty, to be bred up there, and fitted for holy orders. But when Oswald, king of the Northumbrians, had got a bishop ordained for his country, (that was Aidan before mentioned,) then he also [a] gave possessions and territories for the founding of monasteries in his kingdom. In these monasteries the English were trained up in studies, and the observation of regular discipline, first by those Irish monks whom Aidan
162 brought with him, and afterward by those whom they had enabled to teach others. To one of these monasteries king Oswy gave [b] one hundred and twenty tenements. At Adbærve there was [c] another of fifty families. At Ripon there was [d] another of forty. We may judge how populous they were, by comparing these numbers with the accounts that are given us of whole countries together. For the Isle of Wight had [e] twelve hundred families; Anglesea had nine hundred; Ely [f] had six hundred; the Isle of Man had [g] three hundred families; as Bede tells us, according to the account of them in his age.

When by this monastic education any one was made fit to take orders, in the judgment of them that were his superiors in that place, then he was to be ordained; but by whom? by his superiors in the monastery? It must be so, if they had the power of ordination. And

[z] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 27. p. 131. p. 241. p. 136.

[a] Ibid. l. 3. c. 3. p. 167. p. 106.

[b] Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 24. p. 231. p. 129.

[c] Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 3. p. 261. p. 144. Perhaps Barton upon Humber; note in Bede ibid. Smith's edition.

[d] Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 234.

[e] Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 16. p. 298. p. 159. Camden. ib. p. 198. vol. 1. p. 123.

[f] Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 19. p. 309. p. 164. Camden. ibid. p. 361. vol. 2. p. 127. Additions, p. 143.

[g] See before, chap. 6. §. 1. p. 114, where for reference to Bede, in note [x].

so indeed our adversaries would have it, that the abbot and his senior monks did ordain those that were sent out of their monastery; and that, not only into the 163
lower orders, but into the order of bishops, as they shew us in the [h] example of Aidan, and his successors. But this is so far from being true, that I dare challenge our adversaries to shew any instance, where the abbot and monks, without a bishop among them, ordained so much as one single presbyter. I shall shew, on the contrary, by many instances, that as it was necessary to have orders conferred in the monasteries, without which there could be no administration of sacraments, so bishops were held necessary on this very account, that they might confer orders on those that were judged fit to be ordained in the monasteries.

§. 8. There were indeed in those times, when religion and learning were thought to be much advanced by that way of living, such [i] exemptions granted to the monks, for their encouragement, that they were in a manner wholly free from episcopal jurisdiction. They governed all within themselves, and kept some kind of 164
authority over those that were ordained and sent forth out of their body. This gives colour enough to them that are to seek for examples in those times for the depressing of the authority of bishops. But this will do them no service, when it appears that, notwithstanding all their exemptions, those abbots and seniors could not ordain without a bishop, and that many of them were not in orders themselves, even those that had bishops subject to them in their monasteries.

The most ancient privileges of this kind, that I have observed in the western Church, were those that were enjoyed by the African monasteries. They were for

[h] See chap. 5. §. 5. p. 104.

[i] Bingham ibid. b. 7. ch. 3. s. 14.

one while so exempt, that [k] the bishop in whose diocese they were had nothing to do with them, except when they themselves were pleased to make use of his assistance.

§. 9. About the year of Christ 500, we find [l] they might choose what bishop they pleased in the whole
165 province, to ordain, and do other episcopal acts in their monastery. It appears [m] that whomsoever they chose they were tied to; he was their bishop as long as he lived; but when he died, they were not tied to his successor; but might choose either him or any other whom they pleased, for (as they pleased in the council of Carthage) they were [n] not under any bishop out of duty, but out of choice, except only the archbishop of Carthage, who was their primate. Afterwards they were confined to the bishop of the diocese; so that [o] he, and no other when they desired it, might ordain any whom they chose out of their number, or might give confirmation, or might consecrate a new oratory. And it is expressed by what pattern this was done, [p] that it was in like manner as the monastery of Lerins in France (now S. Honorè) was confined to the bishop of the diocese.

In France and Spain, how this matter was ordered,
166 it appears in the canons of their councils of [q] Agde and [r] Lerida. There was none to be ordained in any monastery, but by the bishop in whose diocese it was. But then it must be at the desire of the abbot, or at least with his leave, and not otherwise. But besides,

[k] Concil. edit. Labbe. tom. 4. col. 1649. et 1785. B.
[l] Ibid. col. 1646. D. E.
[m] Ibid.
[n] Ibid. col. 1648. A.
[o] Ibid. col. 1789. B.
[p] Ibid. col. 1649. A. B.
[q] Concil. Agath. can. 27. in Labbei ibid. tom. 4. col. 1387, 1388.
[r] Concil. Ilerd. can. 3. in Labbei ibid. col. 1611.

we find that some greater monasteries had bishops in them of their own; who were elected by the abbot and monks, and were ordained by the adjacent bishops, to the end that they might preach, and do episcopal offices in their monasteries. Of this kind we have [s] examples in St. Martin's near Tours, and the monastery of St. Denys near Paris, which had such bishops in them from ancient times; and we have an account of their successions for some ages. The like we have of the bishops that were in St. Columb's monastery at Hy, of whom [t] there is mention in the Ulster annals. So that in either case, of exempt, or not exempt monasteries, there were bishops to be had for the ordaining of monks; and no pretence to have it done by the abbot that was no bishop, though his leave or consent was 167
needful to the ordination.

He that had been so ordained in a monastery [u] must still continue a monk, and live in obedience to his abbot, as well after as before his ordination. But this rule I suppose did hold only in inferior orders, and was not obligatory to those monks that were ordained bishops, any longer than while they continued in their monasteries. For when they were dismissed to go to their bishoprics, they were at their own disposal, to do what, and go whither they pleased; without which liberty they could not attend the affairs of their diocese. There is indeed [x] alleged to the contrary a canon of the synod of Hartford, which seems to import otherwise, as it stands in the collection of councils. For there the

[s] Mabillon. Acta Sanct. Ord. Bened. sæc. 3. part. prim. Præf. p. xx.

[t] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 701. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 367. See ch. 5. §. 3. p. 102.

[u] P. Innocent. I. ad Victricium, epist. 2. c. 10. in Labbei ib. tom. 2. col. 1252.

[x] Blondell. Apol. pro Hieron. p. 371.

words are, that the "episcopi monachi," the bishops which are monks, "should not go from place to place," nor "from monastery to monastery, unless by the leave of their own abbot," but "they must abide in the obe-
168 dience they had promised at the time of their conversion." But this canon, together with the rest of that synod, are taken out of [y] Bede, as all the editors acknowledge. And Bede is corrupted in that place. For, whereas it is 'epi. monachi' in the MS. and 'episcopi m.' in the common editions, it should be [z] 'ipi monachi' in the MS., that is, 'ipsi monachi,' as Wheloc tells us in his errata; and so it is in king Alfred's Saxon translation; "Those monks shall not go from place to place," &c. The meaning is, that monks, who were under the degree of being bishops, should not travel abroad, but should live in their monasteries in obedience to their superiors.

Yet [a] if those that were ordained bishops of any diocese should afterwards come to retire in their monasteries, as Coleman did [b] at Hy for some time after his leaving of York, and as Trumwin did [c] for many years at [d] Streaneshalh under Ælfled, that was abbess there; in that case, there is reason to believe that they
169 lived under the ordinary government in the monastery, as they did before they were made bishops.

As to the abbots in those times, we find [e] that some of them were bishops themselves, as Cedd and Chad before mentioned were abbots of [f] Læstingæa. Some

[y] Bed. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 5. p. 273. p. 148.

[z] Smith's note on Bede ib. p. 148. Wheloc's errata in his edit.

[a] Jamieson ibid. ch. 3. p. 47.

[b] See before, ch. 5. §. 7. p. 110, and note [b].

[c] Bed. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 26. p. 346. p. 174.

[d] Whitby in Yorkshire; note on Bede ibid. b. 3. c. 24. p. 180. Smith's edit.

[e] Mabillon. Acta Sanctorum Benedict. Præf. p. xxii.

[f] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 23. et lib. 5. cap. 20. pp. 226. 443. pp.

were only priests, as [g] Columba, and seven of his successors at Hy. Some abbots were not so much as priests; but either deacons, or sub-deacons; of which we have many instances in [h] those places quoted in the margin. Some abbots were laymen; as the Irish Saranus [i] above mentioned, Fullan that was [k] abbot at Cnobheresburgh, and Suidbert abbot of [l] Dacore. The senior monks likewise, which governed under them, and were like the senior fellows of our colleges, might be [m] such as were not in orders.

And why not? since even women were held capable of governing in those monasteries where men and women lived together. And these abbesses used the same powers that the abbots did in other monasteries. For they elected such of their monks as they 170
thought fit to be put in orders; and after they were ordained, they kept them still under their government, unless they gave them a mission to go forth upon the work of the ministry. Thus [n] Ebba, abbess of Coludesburgh, had several priests in the monastery. St. Bridget, abbess of Kildare, had divers such in her monastery, out of whom she elected Conlian to be bishop there, saith

128. cap. 19. 206. This place is now called Lastingham; near Whitby in Yorkshire. Smith's note on Bede, ibid. p. 128.

[g] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 701. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 366.

[h] Labbei Concil. tom. 4. col. 1642. E. Mabillon. ibid. Acta Sanctorum Benedict. in Præf. p. lxxxv.

[i] See ch. 4. §. 6. p. 97. Jamieson ibid. ch. 14. p. 333. note 2.

[k] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 19. p. 210. p. 122. now Burghcastle, at the mouth of the Yare, on which Yarmouth lies, in Suffolk. Smith's note on Bede ibid. p. 122.

[l] Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 32. p. 365. p. 180. now Dacre, near Penrith, Cumberland. Smith's note on Bede ibid. p. 180.

[m] Labbei Concil. tom. 4. col. 1644. D.

[n] Bed. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 25. p. 339. p. 173. From Smith's note on Bede ibid. cap. 19. p. 162. it appears this place is now called Coldingham, within the borders of Scotland. Jamieson ibid. p. ix. p. 193.

[o] the old writer of her Life. We have many other instances of this power in abbesses of those times; but I shall only mention one more, that of Hilda, ([p] great grandchild to king Edwin,) whom Aidan made abbess of [pp] Streaneshalh, and who for her piety and excellent discipline is famous in the Saxon history. Bede [q] saith, "She so held her subjects to the reading of Scripture, and doing works of righteousness, that many among them were fit to be churchmen, and to serve at the altar. So that we afterwards saw five bishops out of her monastery," and Tatfrid, a sixth, was elected bishop,
171 but died before he could be ordained. Being so well stored with learned men as she was, and having such a power over them as she had, it is no wonder that we [r] read of her being present, with her clergy about her, at the synod that was held at her monastery for the deciding of that great controversy about the right time of keeping Easter. She was there, as became a true disciple of Aidan's, to maintain the Scottish side against the Roman in that controversy. And therefore, when we read that [s] she elected and sent forth bishops and priests, though she did not ordain them, nor could do it by reason of her sex, it sufficiently shews us the manner of those Scottish monasteries. The abbots and monks, though simple priests, yea, though laymen, could elect, and send forth, as Hilda did; but they

o Waræi de Script. Hibern. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 8.

p Bed. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 23. p. 320. p. 167.

pp See p. 168. note [d].

q Bed. ibid. p. 322. p. 168.

r Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 234. p. 132. Camden. ibid. p. 587. a. vol. 3. p. 18. Additions, p. 80. Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. pp. 931. 940. 964. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 482. 487. 499. Stillingfleet's Answer to Cressy, ch. 4. §. 10. 2. in his Works, vol. 5. p. 687, &c. Jamieson ibid. ch. 10. p. 222. See ch. 2. §. 9. p. 67. ch. 4. §. 6. p. 97. ch. 6. §. 10. p. 128, &c.

s Mackenzie's Letter, ibid. p. 7, fully agrees with Lloyd.

could not confer holy orders. That could be done only by a bishop: whom therefore they either called from abroad, or they had one residing in the monastery for that purpose.

This account of the ancient monks, and especially of 172
those in these islands, being gathered out of the writers of those times; I take it to be a sufficient confutation of that modern fiction of a Scottish ordination by presbyters, which being formed by popish monks for the honour of their way, has been catched up by some amongst us to give a colour of antiquity to their innovations.

I know not what is more to be done, unless one could shew what it was that set their wits on work for this fable.

§. 10. Perhaps it might be occasioned by that passage of Bede, in the [t] chapter where he speaks of Columba's coming hither. I shall set down his words, that the reader may the better consider it. "Columba came into Britain when Bridius reigned over the Picts.... He by his word and example converted that nation to the faith of Christ, and thereupon he received from them the aforesaid island [of Hy] in possession for the building of a monastery; for it is not great, but contains about five English miles, which his successors 173
hold till this day. Before he came into Britain, he had built a noble monastery in Ireland, which is called [u]Dearmach in the Scottish language." [By the Scottish here, it is plain that Bede means the Irish.] He adds,

[t] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 169. p. 106. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. pp. 687. 690. 700. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 359. 361. 366. Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. lxix. See ch. 1. §. 9. p. 35. ch. 2. §. 6. p. 63. ch. 5. §. 1. p. 100, and in this chapter, §. 10. p. 177.

[u] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 690. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 361. Camden. ibid. vol. 3. Additions, p. 538.

that "from both these monasteries [of Dearmach and of Hy] there were afterwards propagated by his disciples very many other monasteries both in Britain and in Ireland, [that is North Ireland, and the Picts' country,] among all which the island-monastery [at Hy] where his body rests, is the principal." [v So elsewhere he shews that other monasteries were subject to it.] He goes on concerning Hy, "But that island is ever wont to have for its governor an abbot in priest's orders, to whose right both all the province, and also the very bishops in an w unusual order ought to be subject, according to the example of the first teacher [Columba] who was not a bishop, but a monk in priest's orders."

174 From these x words of Bede, not rightly understood, I suppose it was that this following note was inserted into the latter copies of the y Saxon Chronicle; "Columba priest came to the Picts, and converted them to the Christian faith, who at that time dwelt in the North Moors, and their king gave him the island which is named Hy, wherein there are five hides of land. There it is said that Columba built a monastery. The place has yet his heirs. There ought to be ever in Hy an abbot and not a bishop, and all the bishops of the Scots ought to be under him, because that Columba was abbot and not bishop."

These words of the Saxon Chronicle, anno 560, were z all put in by a later hand. For the old Saxon Chronicle has nothing of Columba in that year. Nor

v Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 700. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 366, where for quotations from Bede.

w Mackenzie's Letter, ibid. p. 6. See p. 177, and note k.

x Jamieson ibid. c. 5. p. 93.

y Saxon. Chron. ann. 560. p. 511. post Bedæ ibid. Wheloc. edit. p. 25. Ingram's edit.

z Jamieson ibid. ch. 5. p. 94, &c., with whom compare Wheloc's note *, p. 503. ibid. as to this and other interpolations.

has [a] Ethelward, nor Florence of Worcester, who almost transcribed the old Chronicle. But in the year 565, [b] it has these words: "Here Columba, priest of the Scots, came into Britain, to teach the Picts, and they built him a monastery in an island." This is all that 175
was anciently in the book, and all that both those historians have transcribed. Afterwards those other words before mentioned were inserted in another year of the Chronicle. And it seems they came in late, by what is said [c] concerning the Picts, that they dwelt at that time in the North Moors. It seems the addition was made some time after the year 850, for it was [d] about that year that the Picts were conquered by the Scots, and till then they continued in their old habitation. Perhaps the addition was made after Ethelward and Marianus, whom Florence transcribed, had writ their histories. At least it had not got into the copies that they used, nor is it in the ancienter copies at this day.

I shew the lateness of this addition to the Saxon Chronicle, to make it appear, that he that inserted it knew nothing of those times but what he had out of Bede's history; and that therefore no great use can be made of his authority either way. Yet I set down his 176
words, to shew whence it was, probably, that the fable was taken by John of Fordon, and his followers, of monks in priest's orders, governing the Church in Scotland, and of those governing monks being called "the bishops of the Scots."

But to shew that there is no ground for it from Bede's words, I shall now consider them again, and make Bede himself his own interpreter. He saith, the

[a] See Ingram's Preface to his edition of the Saxon Chronicle, p. vii. &c.

[b] Sax. Chron. ann. 565. p. 511. post Bed. ibid. Wheloci edit. p. 25. Ingram's edit.

[c] Jamieson ibid. p. 94.

[d] See ch. 1. §. 11. p. 42.

Isle of Hy, which was given to Columba in possession, and on which he built his monastery, is ever since governed by the abbots his successors. He saith that "[e] all the province, and also the very bishops, in an unusual order, ought to be subject" to this abbot. The main difficulty is, to know of what province he saith this. Hector Boethius and his followers understand it of the kingdom of Scotland. But that which is now called Scotland had many kingdoms in it, in [f] Bede's time; and one of them, namely, the kingdom of the North Picts, in which this island was contained, divers
177 provinces, as [g] Bede calls them. And he tells us in [h] this very chapter, that Columba came to preach the word of God to the province of the North Picts. And it is familiar with him to call [i] a bishop's diocese by the name of a province. So that, as far as one can judge by his words, he meant nothing else, but that all the province or diocese which was under the bishop of Hy did then belong to the monastery. And whosoever will have the word 'province' to be understood in any larger extent, must shew it out of some other author, that saith it of his own time, or of a time within memory, that then there was a larger province, or that there were several provinces subject to that monastery. But that, I am satisfied, none can justly pretend to do. Bede [j] saith, there were other monasteries subject to it, as cells used to be to that convent from which they were derived. But neither he nor any other author

[e] Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 701. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 366. See p. 173.

[f] Chap. I. §. 9. p. 34.

[g] Bed. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 22. p. 459. cap. 21. p. 216.

[h] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 168 p. 106. Jamieson ibid. chap. 3. p. 40, &c. See p. 172. and note [t].

[i] Bed. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 483. p. 218.

[j] Ibid. lib. 5. cap. 16. p. 433. cap. 15. p. 200. et lib. 5. cap. 23. p. 479. cap. 22. p. 216. See p. 173, and note [v].

saith it of other provinces, or of a larger than that which I have mentioned.

Then for the word 'bishops', which Bede has in the 178
plural number, and which late Scottish writers extend to [k]all the bishops in England; as they cannot shew that any other but the bishop of Hy was ever subject to the abbot of that place, so neither doth it appear that Bede did here intend any other. He speaks only of one province, or diocese as I have explained it. And that indeed could have but [l] one bishop at a time. But it might have many successively, and so I understand the place. The bishop of Hy had his seat at [m] Sodora in that island; and yet might have all the North Picts in his diocese, at first, as the [n] bishop of Lindisfarn had all the Northumbrians. And yet afterwards, when the North Picts had more bishops, he that dwelt there at Hy might have only the isles to his diocese. I am not confident of that. But whatsoever diocese they had, it is certain that the bishops that sat there successively, till Bede's time, were all subject to the abbot of that monastery.

This was indeed, as Bede calls it, an unusual thing. 179
For the manner was otherwise in other places, and especially at the place that was best known to him, that is, at Lindisfarn before mentioned. There was both a bishop's see and a monastery in the same city, as Bede saith [o]more than once; and so it was probably in all other places that he knew. Therefore he might well say, that for the bishop to be subject to the abbot,

[k] That is, of the Scots.

[l] Jamieson ibid. ch. 4. p. 63.

[m] Sodora in the Isle of Hy. See Jamieson ibid. p. 44. Camden. ibid. in the Additions, vol. 3. p. 715.

[n] Jamieson ibid. p. 43. See ch. 5. §. 5. p. 105.

[o] Bed. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 27. p. 350. p. 176. et in Vita Cuthberti, cap. 16. in Bedæ Oper. tom. 3. p. 164. post Bedæ Eccl. Hist. p. 241. See chap. 5. §. 5. p. 105.

was 'ordine inusitato,' not according to the order that was usual in other places, and at his Lindisfarn in particular.

But at Hy there was a reason for it, which was as unusual as the thing itself. For whereas in almost all other places there were bishops before there were monasteries, and there [p] it was not lawful to build any monastery without the leave of the bishop; here at Hy, on the contrary, there was no Christian before Columba came thither. And when he was come, and had converted both king and people, [q] (they) gave him
180 the island in possession for the building of a monastery; and withal, for the maintenance of it, they gave him the [r] royalty of the neighbouring isles; six of which are mentioned by [s] Buchanan as belonging to the monastery. And therefore, though Columba found it necessary to have a bishop, and was pleased to give him a seat in his island, and perhaps to put the other isles under his jurisdiction; yet it is not strange that he thought fit to keep the royalty still to himself and his successors.

It is no more strange that it should be so there, than that it is so now in many places; and at [t] Oxford particularly, where a bishop now lives, and is as well known to be a prelate of the English Church as any other, the government is vested in the university

[p] Concil. Chalcedon. can. 4. in Labbei Concil. tom. 4. col. 757. Concil. Agath. can. 27. in Labbei ibid. col. 1387.

[q] Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 169. p. 106. See p. 172. and note [t].

[r] Adamnan. de Columb. ibid. The fact here referred to, is rather to be collected from various passages in Adamnanus, than found in any of them.

[s] Buchan. Rerum Scot. lib. 1. fol. 10. lin. 18. Oper. tom. 1. p. 15. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 700. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 366. Bingham ibid. book 8. ch. 3. s. 14.

[t] Dr. John Fell, bishop of Oxford, and dean of Christ Church. See Jamieson ibid. ch. 4. p. 71, &c.

exclusively of him; and not only the chancellor and his deputy have precedence of the bishop, but every private scholar is exempt from his cognizance and jurisdiction: yet notwithstanding this, if any one thus privileged happen to have a parochial cure, whether 181
it be in the diocese or university itself, they become subject to the bishop as others are; and if any episcopal act be to be performed, whether it be the consecration of the chapel of any college or hall in the university, or holy orders, or confirmation be to be received by a private scholar, recourse is had unto the bishop; and in case of ordination, the person ordained makes the same recognition with others, that "he will reverently obey his ordinary." So that we see here the chancellor and scholars have the same authority by their charter that [u] king Bridius gave to Columba and his monks, only it does not extend through the whole diocese, but is limited according to the pleasure of our kings, who might have extended it as far as they pleased; and yet a farther extent of this liberty, though it had been such an abridgment of the episcopal power as never was known till monkery came into the Church, yet had not been a suppressing of the 182
order, which is the thing our adversaries drive at. How justly they of all men inveigh against monkery, that borrow their patterns from their innovations, and where those will not reach, piece them out with their fables, and do as it were endeavour to restore it, by their darkening the Church history, to destroy the government of it—these things I leave to the reader's consideration.

[u] See p. 179.

THE END.

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Lloyd, William

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